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TO PLEASE ONESELF:
LOCAL ORGANIZATION IN THE TONGA ISLANDS

by

Shulamit Rose Decktor Korn

A dissertation presented to the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of Washington University in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

May, 1977

Saint Louis, Missouri

[p. i]

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PREFACE

The research on which this dissertation is based was 101 conducted on the Polynesian island of Tongatapu, the main island of the Kingdom of Tonga. My interest in Tonga was 121 first stimulated in 1967 when I came across repeated references to the effect that in Tonga adaptations to social and cultural change have been particularly harmonious. The following is a typical statement:

> The Kingdom of Tonga is a democracy adapted to meet Tongan present-day needs and old-established customs. The shoe is well-cut and, if new in parts, it does not pinch painfully (MacQuarrie 1955: 191).

At the same time, I found that there was little solid 114 information available on Tonga, and even less in the way of sociological reporting. To this day, the only book on village life in 20th-century Tonga is a short monograph by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole (1941), based on a two-month field study conducted a few months before the outbreak of World War II. In the preface to the monograph, they make the following statement:

> Despite years of contact with an invading western 114 European culture, village culture has adapted itself 177 with very considerable success to the strains and tensions thus engendered. There has been adaptation but not extinction, a new and distinctive cultural blend but not destruction, not disintegration of either personal or social life (1941: 4).

The Beagleholes seemed to confirm what the other writers said. However, I noted that they spoke of a 114
situation observed more than a generation ago. Further 121
reading suggested to me that, whatever the conditions of village life then, they might be very different today. This was based primarily on broad statistical data, especially those relating to population growth. Another set of data also seemed to me to be relevant to the likelihood of change in Tonga, data relating to the post-war expansion of education. These data suggested that a study of adaptations to change in Tongan society might profitably be focused on an enquiry into the role of education in contemporary Tonga. Such an enquiry would also yield comparative data on one of the major social issues in developing countries, namely, the extent of congruity between the aspirations of the young people and the range of alternatives available to them. This issue could be particularly critical in Tonga, given the limitations of the Tongan economy and the fact of increasing population.

These, then, are the major questions I took with me 114
in going to the field. As it turned out, while I was able 121
to do some research into young people's aspirations and did investigate the question of access to education, my enquiry into other aspects of education did not go much

beyond that. Within a few days of my arrival in the 114 Kingdom, I learned that a two-volume dissertation on the 121 relationship between education and socio-economic development in Tonga had been completed just two years earlier (Kavaliku 1967). The author was the Honourable Langi Kavaliku, who was serving as Minister without Portfolio at the time I arrived in Tonga and appointed Minister of Education a few weeks later (the first Tongan commoner to serve in that position). Dr. Kavaliku was most gracious and encouraging in welcoming my research. Nevertheless, after reading his dissertation, I felt I would have to redefine my project if I was not to spend much of my time duplicating what he had done. I thought at that point that I might focus on young people's aspirations and collect data that could be compared with findings from other countries.

My original research design called for me to start with the educational system and trace how it related to other features of the society. Accordingly, I had proposed to locate myself at one of the secondary schools and work outwards through contacts made with students at the school. Since virtually all the major secondary schools in the 873 country were located on the island of Tongatapu, most of 101 them in and around Nuku'alofa, the capital town, it seemed clear to me that I should be based in Nuku'alofa.

By the end of my first week in Tonga I had obtained 114
permission from the government and the school authorities 121
to conduct my research at the only government school that prepares students for university entrance (one of four such schools in the country), and I began a routine of daily visits to the school. By the end of the second week, I was beginning to see that there was too much that I would not comprehend that way. A petty matter that forced me to recognize this was that I could not understand the system of family names and hence could make little sense of the school records. It occured to me that if I had this problem with names I was bound to encounter much more of anga faka-Tonga ('Tongan custom') whose meaning would elude me, especially as I did not speak Tongan. The following is an extract from a field report written five weeks after my arrival in Tonga:

> Given what I have learned after a profitable month at the center of things, my best bet now is to head for the villages. Until I have learned more about Tonga, I doubt that it would be productive to be in town, where it is too much of a struggle for me at present to avoid being confined to association only with people of high status.
>
> As you know, before I came here, I had considered the possibility of studying a particular high school. That no longer seems a good idea. Students scatter after school hours, too widely for me to be able to keep track of them, at least given my present social ignorance. It seems to me that it would be better to use a local community as a focus and work outwards from there, encompassing the schools in one direction among others, rather than using the school as a center.

Thus, in the second month of my fieldwork, I moved from

the capital to live in a village. The village that was 114
chosen was close enough for me to have easy access to the 121
secondary schools and centers of government and adminis-
tration in Nuku'alofa, but sufficiently removed that I was
forced to learn the Tongan language and was in a much
better position to learn *anga faka-Tonga*.

The move to the village in itself necessitated a
shift in the focus of my research, from an emphasis on the
system of education to consideration of the wider context
of the system. Beyond that, however, the more I learned
about village life the more firmly I came to the conclusion
that, to understand the context of education in Tonga, one
must begin with elements of local organization. The reason [554]
is that access to land and other resources are limiting [423]
factors in whatever life strategy a person might adopt and [871]
may critically affect possibilities of access to education.

In studying the question of access to resources, I found myself moving further and further from my original topic, away from an enquiry into the role of education in contemporary Tonga towards a study of the kinds of alternatives available to ordinary people in Tongan society. Thus my research became focused on the organization of Tongan society at the local level. Enquiry into the role of education in social change would have had to include an investigation of the relationship between education and

government, on the one hand, and the system of stratifica- 114
tion on the other. For reasons set out in Chapters I and 121
VI, these are topics that cannot be adequately dealt with
in the context of a study of village Tonga. To pursue
these topics, therefore, I would have had to set aside my
village study and return to Nuku'alofa. This seemed to
me not to be advisable, not only because I would have had
to trace my own way over some of the ground covered by
Langi Kavaliku just a few years previously, but also
because by then my fieldwork in the village was well under
way and I was most reluctant to abandon it. Thus I continued with my village research.

Something should be said regarding the selection of
the village chosen as my fieldbase. There were five
villages which suited the requirement of being large
enough to promise a diverse population and sufficiently
removed yet within easy access of Nuku'alofa. One of the 114
people with whom I discussed the question of which village 121
would be the most suitable offered to help me find a place 122
in one of them, Motulahi (a fictitious name), the village
in which he lived. At first I was hesitant about accepting
the offer, for he was a government official and I was
concerned about possible implications of being thought to
be associated with the government. However, it was
necessary for me to have someone who would provide me with

sponsorship, wherever I lived, since land is not freely 114
available in Tonga. There seemed little point in avoiding 121
being associated with someone merely because he was a 122
government official, particularly since I would be associated with the government, anyway, through my research in education. I therefore accepted his gracious offer, but declined the further invitation extended both by him and his wife that I live as a member of their household. Instead, we agreed that I would live in a fale (a 9 x 16 [342]
foot coconut-thatched 'house') that I would have built for me on land at the back of their house. I would do my own cooking in my fale, but had free access to their house and use of the indoor plumbing facilities there. While the fale was being built and outfitted, a matter of a few weeks, I lived in a boarding house in Nuku'alofa and commuted daily to Motulahi. I moved in to my fale in 114
mid-September and that was my base for the next eight months, until I left Tonga. In all, I was in Tonga for [101]
ten months, from mid-July 1969 through mid-May 1970. During this period I made two trips of a few days each in Tongan waters and spent two weeks in Fiji. Except for [101]
these three side-trips, my research was conducted on Tongatapu.

After I came to live in Motulahi my field methods 123
were based on participating as much as I was able in the

activities of the people of the village. This increased as I acquired social skills and facility in using the language. As much as possible, I tried to avoid being treated as a person of high status, for I feared this would exclude me from much of the life of ordinary villagers and from participating in what Goffman (1959) has called "the back region". To give a simple example, on one occasion, at a major feast given by the people on whose land I was living, I declined to take a place among the guests and insisted on sitting at the side with members of the family. Thus I ate later, together with those who had prepared the feast, and so was able to stay on to see what happens after the guests are gone (for it is a violation of etiquette for a guest not to leave when the feast is over). At other feasts, by working together with those who prepared the feast, I was able to observe that part of the proceedings. These are areas of behavior that are normally hidden from most *pālangis* ('Europeans'), for they usually participate only as guests at Tongan feasts. In order further to maximize my acceptability as a person to be treated informally, I avoided contacts with the *pālangi* community and the Tongan elites in Nuku'alofa. I was also cautious about entering into relationships whose implications and commitments might involve more than I could handle. Thus, I declined the suggestion that I accept the formal bestowal of a Tongan name, feeling that this might associate me in ways I could not foresee with whichever chief would confer the name upon me. And it was only over a period of some time that I came to participate in quasi-kinship relationships with people in the village. As much as possible, I tried to avoid being identified exclusively with particular sections or groups. Thus at first I attended church services in each of the local congregations in turn. Eventually, I settled into a pattern of attending four of them in rotation, explaining that the denomination to which I belonged at home did not have a church in Tonga. I also participated in quasi-kinship relationships with members of four different kin-groups (*fāmili*) in the village, and thereby gained some experience of the activities and obligations of kin-group membership without being solely affiliated with a particular group. 123

My participation in local activities was to some extent shaped by my sex (female), age (twenty-seven), and marital status (single). For example, it would not have been proper for me to accompany the men in their agricultural activities without other women being present, and I never did so (although from time to time I went to the bush together with other women). This meant that some aspects of this major sphere of village life were beyond my investigation. I also felt that there was some [114] awkwardness in my joining men in their kava-drinking, despite their entirely proper invitations that I do so, for I was aware that their normal discussions were set aside while I was there. I therefore participated less than I might have in this area of activity. I also could not participate freely in the women's talk of matters relating to sex and reproduction, because of my status as an unmarried woman. On the other hand, the fact of my being a woman made it easy for me to adopt the practice of dropping by at people's homes and casually sitting around while members of the household went on with their activities, for this is something that Tongan women do all the time. My relative youth also made it reasonable and not too undignified for me to spend time playing with the children, which I found very comforting when I felt lonely, and to join in many of the activities of the young adults. 123 [574]

Besides observation and participation, much of my village data was gathered in the course of a detailed house-to-house survey that I began after I had been in Motulahi for three months. In the course of the survey I was able to collect extensive biographical data for almost every individual in the village, filling in many gaps in my information about the people and using the survey questions as a springboard for discussion of other matters. 125

None of these informants were paid, nor were they directly 124
rewarded with gifts. However, my main informants and [125]
others in Motulahi who were of greatest assistance were
members of the kin-groups in which I participated as a
quasi-member. I understood their assisting me to be part
of a wider context of reciprocities, one aspect of the
anga faka-Tonga that I had come to Motulahi to study.

I wish to thank the Government of Tonga under 122
His Majesty King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV for permitting me
to conduct fieldwork. My fieldwork was supported by
an International Fellowship from the American Association
of University Women, and this support is gratefully
acknowledged. I would also like to thank many people in
Motulahi and others in Tonga for helping me in carrying
out my research, and to express special thanks to certain
individuals for their graciousness and kindness towards
me. However, I shall only name those who are identifiable
in some public capacity. Much as I would like to name 122
others in acknowledgement of my regard for them, I feel 124
it incumbent upon me to protect their privacy. While I
have given a fictitious name to the village in which I was
based and have disguised the title of the noble, it would
be impossible to shield their identity any further without
distorting data that I have judged it important to present.
Instead, I have done what I can in reporting my findings

to preclude the identification of individuals, particularly where sensitive information is involved.

The directors and staff of a number of Government departments and agencies rendered invaluable assistance. The Department of Education was especially helpful at all times, and it is a pleasure to be able to express my gratitude for the support facilitated me by the Honourable Minister of Education, Dr. 'Langi Kavaliku, and the Director of Education, Sione Na'a Fiefia. Considerations of space preclude my naming all the members of their staff and the staff of other agencies who went out of their way to help me, but I cannot omit mention of Kilisimasi 'Aho, 'Ana Taufe'ulungaki, and 'Atolo Tu'inukuafe, and their names will stand for all. I would also like to express my appreciation to the Honourable Ve'ehala and Tupou Fosesi Fonua of the Tonga Traditions Committee for their encouragement of anthropological research in Tonga. And thanks are due the staff and students of Tonga High School and Tupou High School for facilitating my research among them. Others in Tonga whom I would like to thank and whose names I feel I can safely mention include Jack and Kato Riechelmann; Tevita Tupou, who met my plane upon arrival and welcomed me to Tonga; 'Iunisi Fiefia, who accompanied me to the airport at my departure; and two dear friends and colleagues, Garth Rogers and Tavi Pālangi Kauffmann.

122

Outside Tonga, I have enjoyed discussing my data with a number of other anthropologists, especially Sharon Tiffany, Charles Urbanowicz, George Marcus, and Richard Feinberg. However, this acknowledgement should not be taken to indicate their endorsement of arguments presented in the dissertation, for we remain in disagreement on many points. I would also like to acknowledge the contribution of members of my dissertation committee, past and present. Dr. Robert Canfield has been most helpful, and I deeply appreciate his assistance. Finally, I wish to acknowledge the assistance of two analytic philosophers, Jere Jones and Fred Korn, whose insistent criticism forced me to deal with shortcomings in the formulation of the argument. And above all else has been the contribution of Fred Korn. Those who know me and my work well know how extensive and important his support and encouragement have been. For the rest let me say that this dissertation would not have been possible without him.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

121 Tongan society does not readily yield to anthropological treatment that seeks to provide an analysis of 'the social system'. The difficulty is that standard anthropological approaches cannot account for the extensive variability that characterizes Tongan social organization [621] at the local level. Local organization in Tonga is variable in two senses: first, there is considerable diversity within each of the different kinds of social grouping found at the local level, and second, the statistical distributions of these variations change over time. This study attempts to make intelligible the variability of local organization in Tonga.

181 57 Tongans have an idiom--"*fa'iteliha*"--which is best translated as "to please onself". This idiom expresses a viewpoint about how people conduct themselves. According to this view, people have alternatives in ordering their lives and their choices are freely made. No adult need ask another's advice. Above all, a person does not have to explain himself, his motives, or his actions; on the contrary, *fa'iteliha*--he pleases himself. Important

options available to ordinary Tongans include the 181 possibility of switching denominational affiliation, 571 changing household membership, shifting kin-group affiliation, moving to a different village, and varying the extent of participation in various local activities. With regard to all these elements, Tongans perceive their [829] society as one in which there are few prescriptions or prohibitions, where people have alternatives in ordering their lives, and where individuals have considerable autonomy in exercising their options. My analysis of 121 these materials is concerned in part with identifying some of the circumstances that lead a person to select one alternative rather than another.

Previous Anthropological Research in Tonga 114

Despite the many anthropologists who have worked in the Tonga Islands, none has published more than a few paragraphs dealing with local organization. One cannot be sure whether the absence of a satisfactory account of local organization in Tonga is not merely because no-one has attempted to provide it. Nevertheless, the absence of such an account is curious in view of the number of anthropologists who have worked in Tonga.

The first and most eminent of these anthropologists is A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, who spent a few years in Tonga as an expatriate officer of government in the period between his researches in Australia and his work in South Africa. Despite his fairly lengthy sojourn in the Tonga Islands, the only reference to Tonga in Radcliffe-Brown's published writings is by way of comparison in the course of his famous article on "The Mother's Brother in South Africa" (1924). Not long after his departure, the Bishop Museum sponsored the Bayard Dominick Expedition to Tonga, and Edward W. Gifford was among the expedition members.[1] Gifford was in Tonga for nine months in 1920-21 and wrote Tongan Society (1929), the single most comprehensive account of Tongan social organization available to this day. However, except for a few pages relating to census data, there is little in Tongan Society that is concerned specifically with local organization. Instead, the monograph deals mainly with culture history and with ethnohistorical materials relating to the Tongan aristocracy. Following Gifford, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole were the next anthropologists to conduct research in the Tonga Islands. The Beagleholes spent two months in Tonga during the summer of 1938-39, of which seven weeks were spent in the village of Pangai. Their object in writing their monograph Pangai: Village in Tonga was to "[put] on record something of the life of the villager-commoner in a socially stratified society" (1941: 3). The monograph, although sketchy, is fairly comprehensive in its description of rural activities, but again there is almost no discussion of local organization per se.

---

[1] Gifford is better known for his later research among California Indians.

Since World War II and up to the time when I began my own fieldwork in 1969, a number of other social and cultural anthropologists have conducted research in Tonga, including Machiko Aoyagi, Elizabeth Bott, Dorothy Crozier, Adrienne Kaeppler, Gert Koch, Rusiate Nayacakalou, Garth Rogers, and James Spillius. Since the time of my fieldwork, the anthropologists who have conducted research in the Tonga Islands include Louise Bernstein, Nicholas Blatchley, George Marcus, Keith Morton, Garth Rogers, and Charles Urbanowicz. None of these anthropologists has provided an extensive account of local organization, although Aoyagi, Marcus, and Nayacakalou have published articles focusing on elements of social organization at the local level (Aoyagi 1966, Marcus 1974, Nayacakalou 1959). Most notable among the anthropologists who have worked in Tonga in the post-war period is the husband-and-wife team of Spillius and Bott,[2] who spent more than two years in Tonga as part of a WHO environmental sanitation project (1958-60). However, neither of them conducted extensive research among Tongan villagers, and the only publication to have resulted from their sojourn in Tonga is Bott's masterful essay on "The Significance of Kava in Tongan Myth and Ritual" (1972). Besides myself, only Aoyagi, Blatchley and Rogers have conducted extensive research on social organization at the local level among Tongan villagers. Rogers was in the field at approximately the same time as I was, but has not yet published anything on local organization in Tonga; Blatchley is still in the field. In summary, despite the many anthropologists who have worked in the Tonga Islands, there is no satisfactory account of social organization at the local level. 114

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[2] Spillius had previously accompanied Firth in his restudy of Tikopia, and Bott is well known for her book Family and Social Network (1957).

The ethnographic materials presented in this dissertation are concerned with the organization of village life in Tonga. While the extra-local context of village life is indicated in Chapters II and VI, this is dealt with only to the extent that is necessary for understanding certain elements of local organization. To understand the national level of organization, one would have to go beyond a village study, for the national level in Tonga is not simply the local level writ large. I am not alone in pointing this out. In discussing Aoyagi's paper on "Kinship Organization and Behavior in a Contemporary Tongan Village" 121

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621
613

(1966), Kaeppler makes the following comment: 121

> Her failure to elicit information on ha'a is not 114
> because they do not exist, but because she asked the 621
> wrong people about them. . . . Aoyagi seems to imply 613
> that village structure is, or should be, a microcosm
> of the societal structure. In Tonga, at least, this
> is not the case. Ha'a are part of the societal
> structure and have little to do with villages. . . .
> can only be conceptualized in terms of the whole
> society and would make no sense at all in terms of
> a single village (1971: 138-139).

While village structure in Tonga is not a microcosm of the societal structure, the converse is also true; that is, the organization of life at the local level cannot be inferred simply from an account of the societal system. Despite this, published accounts that focus on village life in Tonga amount to only two monographs and seven articles (not counting articles by me, presenting materials that are dealt with in this dissertation). The most wide-ranging account is given in the short monograph by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole (1941). The other monograph (Koch 1955) is a diffusion study concerned mainly with examination of the adoption of new technology. The articles deal with land tenure (Aoyagi 1964, Maude 1971, Kayacakalou 1959), a geographer's description of the look of Tongan villages (Kennedy 1958), adoption practices among commoners (Morton 1977), and the organization of commoner kin groups (Aoyagi 1966, Marcus 1974).

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114

Research at the national level, although more extensive than that dealing with the local level, has also

114 been limited in scope. There is a considerable body of work by a number of population geographers--McArthur, Maude, and Walsh--and two excellent historical studies of relations between church and state in Tonga in the nineteenth century (Lātūkefu 1974, Rutherford 1971). Besides this, published accounts dealing with the national level of organization in Tonga have been concerned mainly with presenting analyses of the upper levels of the system of stratification and/or accounts of chiefly activities (Bott 1972, Collocott 1924, 1927, Gifford 1929, Goldman 1970, Kaeppler 1971, Sahlins 1958, Urbanowicz 1973, 1975).[3] Coult's paper (1959), based on published materials, and, more recently, Marcus's work (1975a, 1975b, 1976) are notable exceptions, in that they deal not only with the aristocracy but also with relations between the aristocracy and people at the lower levels of the system of stratification.

114
565 A focus on the aristocracy is fairly common among specialists in Polynesian ethnology. Since the degree of stratification in aboriginal Tonga was second in Polynesia only to aboriginal Hawaii, interest in the Tongan aristo-

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[3] In recent years there have been a number of dissertations from outside anthropology dealing with other aspects of the national level of organization (Bollard 1974, Kavaliku 1967, Sevele 1973). However, the results of this research have not yet been published.

cracy is understandable. However, accounts of Tongan 114
society at the national level have tended to treat the 565
non-elite simply as followers. This is manifest in most
accounts of the traditional system of stratification, and
is also evident in the following statement by Spillius
about the contemporary political system:

> Since Tonga has a centralized form of government, I considered it essential to study the structure of Government and the system of rank first, especially in view of the fact that in the fields of authority and rank, the rest of the population orients itself to the activities of Government officials and persons of high rank (1959b: 3).

Given that the national level is not the local level writ
large, a study of the national level does not necessarily
call for enquiry into the lives of ordinary Tongans.
However, dismissal of the non-elite is at least partly due 114
also to the fact that the folk history of Tonga is couched 173 565
mainly in terms of the political and genealogical
connections among the chiefs (Collocott 1924, Lātūkefu
1968, Marcus 1975b, Wood 1932). Since it is the people of 114
the chiefly class who have the best knowledge of these 173
matters, their view of the non-elite as followers and of 565 829
little account is transmitted as part of the oral tradition.
The predominantly aristocratic perspective in oral tradition
may account for the fact that many foreigners, including
anthropologists, seem to have fallen into an attitude that
echoes the thinking of some of the Tongan elites: namely,

114 173 565 829 that the aristocracy is the repository of that which is truly Tongan. I have characterized this attitude elsewhere (1974, 1976) as 'the noble view of Tongan society'. The attitude is implicit throughout Gifford's Tongan Society (1929), but it is also reflected in the work of Spillius, Bott, Kaeppler, and Urbanowicz, anthropologists who have conducted fieldwork much more recently than Gifford. The attitude is explicit in the following statement by Spillius:

> The common error made in earlier anthropological studies of Tonga has been for the anthropologist to go out to outlying villages and islands too soon, under the impression that the more remote the village, the more chance the anthropologist would have to meet the "real people", and the more traditional customs he would find. Such romantic notions can be very misleading in a society like Tonga. In Tonga, knowledge of customs and understanding of the social and political structure has always been the prerogative and the duty of the men and women of rank. Traditionally, commoners were not supposed to know about genealogies or the reasons for political decisions, and to a considerable extent this holds good today (1959b: 3).

This attitude carries an important implication for 114 565 anthropologists and for Tongans, an implication that should not go unchallenged. The implication is that there is little of ethnological interest to be learned from ordinary Tongans, and that the political activities and genealogical manipulations of the vast majority of Tongans are somehow not "really Tongan". And even if it were argued that this implication is not conveyed, the fact remains that little has been written about the lives and concerns of Tongan villagers.

Preconceptions and Recalcitrant Data

The problem in providing an account of local organization in Tonga is to make sense of the seeming formlessness and flux of Tongan society. The difficulty of this is compounded by certain preconceptions that may be brought to the Tongan data. 121

The first of these preconceptions arises from previous work on Tonga. Much of what has been published relates primarily to the upper levels of Tongan society and is based on data collected mainly from people of high rank, although it is not always identified as such. As a result, anthropologists working among Tongan villagers have been confronted with apparently anomalous data, anomalous in that they do not accord with earlier accounts of social organization in Tonga. Two examples of this are given in Aoyagi's paper on kinship organization in a contemporary village: 114 121

> Tongan Society, by E. W. Gifford, which is quoted in many papers, is of course an excellent study, but there are some descriptions in his book that we are unable to find in a Tongan village today. . . . The most important difference, it seems to me, is in regard to ha'a [a descent-based grouping]. I have been unable to find it in Nukuleka village. Referring to commoners, Gifford pointed out that "Some commoners are not aware of their lineage as such, but most are, and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live." . . . But the Beagleholes, who made a research at Pangai in Vava'u about ten years later, made a brief note that none of the Pangai commoners: "know their lineage, none of whom would dare to claim relationship to the lineage of the royal family." This is the case not only in Nukuleka, but also in Longoteme [another village].

> . . . And much less, an internal stratified system as the result of ramification (ramage type according to M. Sahlins) can not possibly be found in this village. Supposing the ramage type to exist here in this village, all the villagers should be integrated into a triangle of hierarchy, the top of which is occupied by [the chief] Leka. Actually, Leka is in the highest rank of the villagers but except for his position it does not seem that people are internally stratified. The principle that every one is ranked by seniority . . . does not exist in fact in the village (1966: 172-174). 114 121

Similarly, Marcus notes:

> Conditions in the modern kingdom of Tonga . . . depart in some ways from the view which posits the permeation of both inter- and intra-class interactions with concerns for status differentiation in terms of a given ideology of rank. . . . I had expected the organization of casual groups within the village, especially the organization of work groups, to be governed by principles of status differentiation, borrowed conceptually from the principles that govern interactions within Tongan kin groups and between social classes, but I did not find this connection (1975a: 35). 114 121 565

Clearly, one cannot generalize from the upper stratum of Tongan society to the entire social system. The fact is that the lives and concerns of Tongan villagers are not simply a lesser version of the concerns of people of the upper strata, and the organization of life at the local level cannot be inferred from accounts of the societal system. 565 [121]

Another preconception that may be brought to the Tongan data, one which is common in anthropology, has been characterized by Pelto and Pelto (1975) as 'resistance to heterogeneity'. They note that "observations concerning intra-community diversities seem to be set aside quickly, 121 as researchers get on with the job of describing 'social structure' and 'typical' cultural patterning" (1975: 1). The Peltos are not the first to call for recognition of intra-societal variation. Indeed, while part of their attack on 'uniformist thinking' is directed specifically at some of the work of Ward Goodenough (1970: 99), the theoretical and methodological implications of intra-societal variability have been a consistent theme in Goodenough's work, beginning as early as 1956 in his paper on "Residence Rules". Others writing in the 1950s who stressed the fact of intra-societal variation include Embree (1950), Leach (1954), and Geertz (1959), and the Peltos provide further examples. Nevertheless, the point remains that "the predominant tendency in anthropological reporting and theory-building continues to be made up of constructions reflecting fundamental assumptions of cognitive homogeneity and behavioral sharing " (Pelto and Pelto 1975: 6). 121

To the extent that there is this tendency, it is difficult to make sense of the extensive variability that characterizes Tongan society at the local level. Indeed, I would suggest that assumptions of cognitive homogeneity and behavioral sharing are the main reason why Tongan society does not readily yield to anthropological treatment that seeks to provide an analysis of social structure or of the 182 121 621

182 cultural principles that shape people's lives.

621 There are three aspects to the variability of ele-
[121] ments of local organization in Tonga:

a. There is considerable diversity within each of the
different kinds of social grouping found at the local level.
[592] For example, among the 145 households in the village of
Motulahi in 1970 there were one-generation, two-generation,
three-generation, and four-generation households;
households with from one to seven family groups; and
households with family groups linked by the tie between
parents and daughter, others linked by the tie between
parents and son, between brother and sister, between sister
[602] and sister, and so on. Not only is there this diversity
[579] of household types, but there are also seemingly different
[794] forms of kin-groups and voluntary associations and a number
of different religious denominations, all in the same
village.

b. The statistical distributions of these variations is
182 not uniform from one village to the next. For example,
621 each of the three Methodist denominations in Tonga has a
794 church in Motulahi, while the village adjoining Motulahi
has only one Methodist church. But whereas the adjoining
village has a large Roman Catholic population and has a
Roman Catholic church, there is no Roman Catholic church
in Motulahi; instead, the few Roman Catholics in Motulahi

attend services in the neighboring village. Other 182
researchers' reports confirm this variability in the inter- 621
village distribution of diversity. Thus, in contrast to [794]
Motulahi, where more than one third of the households in [592]
1970 were composed of more than one family group, Morton reports that in the 42 households in another village in 1971 there was only one household consisting of more than a single family group (1972: 46), and Marcus reports that in a third village in 1972 one fifth of the households were composed of more than one family group (1973: 46-47).

c. The distribution of population among the different forms of any kind of social grouping varies from time to
time. For example, people are liable to change their 182
denominational affiliation. I first became aware of this 621
phenomenon when I attended a service at one of the local 795 794
churches in Motulahi and among the congregants was a woman who I thought belonged to a different local congregation. I spoke with her afterwards and remarked on my surprise at seeing her in church that day; I asked if she was merely a visitor for that day. No, she said, she belonged to the congregation. I asked if I had been mistaken in thinking that she was affiliated with a different denomination, and her response astounded me: "That's right, I used to be a Catholic, but now I'm a Methodist." This was said in a wholly matter-of-fact way, as if it should make perfect sense to me.

182 621 sense to me. And, as time went by, I learned that besides switching denominational affiliation, people may shift their household membership, their kin-group affiliation, and their membership in various other local groups.

182 621 121 If one approaches the Tongan data with assumptions of cognitive homogeneity and behavioral sharing, the variability of local organization at the local level makes Tongan society appear to be in a formless state of continual flux. Besides this, another preconception that may be brought to the Tongan data and may contribute to the appearance of formlessness is the assumption that in a rural agricultural setting there is a recognizable local community. It should be noted, however, that throughout the dissertation I speak of 'local organization' rather [361] than 'village organization'. This is because the village is not a significant unit of organization in Tongan society. The question of 'what is a community?' and whether the locale of the anthropologist's investigation is properly called a community crops up repeatedly, particularly in urban studies (Epstein 1964a, Mitchell 1969, Leeds 1973). Nevertheless, one still encounters the assumption that a village, viewed as a social unit, is a residentially-based grouping of persons, the aggregate of whose multiplex relationships is such that the village

182 constitutes a separable sub-system within a larger system. 621 121 Certainly, I held this assumption for the first few months of my research and, accordingly, sought to discover the "basis" for the presumed cohesion of the village-community. In the light of the Tongan data, it is clear that I had 621 made a number of unfounded assumptions. The fact is that from the point of view of local organization in Tonga the village as such has little significance; it neither functions as a political group nor is there any other group whose membership co-incides with all the inhabitants of the village.

121 The materials that have been presented above give 621 rise to the following questions:

182 1. Given the absence of overarching organization at the local level, how are the various local groupings in Tongan society articulated with one another?

2. What is the explanation for the diversity found in the various forms of social groupings at the local level?

3. What is the explanation for the changeability of villagers' memberships and affiliations?

4. Why is there variation in the statistical distribution of social groupings from one village to the next?

121 The kind of explanation put forward in answering these questions is not of the sort that philosophers of science call a 'covering law'; that is, I am not arguing

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for some general theory from which the variability of local organization could be deduced. My aim, rather, is to put forward an explanation which renders the seeming formlessness of local organization in Tonga intelligible.[4]

Analytic Orientations

The ethnographic materials presented in this dissertation delineate a neglected dimension--the local level--of a society that itself is not well known. In speaking of 'levels of organization', I do not intend to refer by implication to Steward's concept of 'levels of integration' (1955). Instead, what I mean to imply is a marrying of what some political anthropologists speak of as an 'arena' or 'field' of activity (Swartz 1968: 9-10) and Firth's concept of organization as the "arrangement of elements of action into a system by limitation of their social relations in reference to given ends as conceived by the actors" (1964: 62). I might have spoken of 'arenas of organization'. However, I prefer to use the idiom of 'levels of organization' to indicate that the domain of activity is not to be regarded as self-contained, that actors and activities beyond that level are at times vitally and directly involved in processes pertaining to the groups and activities under consideration. This follows Swartz's usage (1968: 1) where he distinguishes between 'local politics' and 'local-level politics'. 121

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[4] This notion of explanation extends back to Aristotle. For modern statements, see Achinstein (1971) and Dray (1957).

As we have seen, the Tongan data direct attention to certain general issues in the anthropological analysis of intra-societal variability. In the final chapter of the dissertation I consider these data in cross-cultural perspective. At this point, my concern is with the methodological problems involved in analyzing the Tongan data. These problems have been approached most instructively, in my view, under the heading of the question of 'loose structure', and in some of the treatment of 'optative' forms of social structure. [128]

The term 'loose structure' was introduced into the anthropological literature by John Embree (1950), when he characterized Thailand as having a 'loosely structured social system'. Embree was concerned with

> . . . the question of relative integration of a culture in terms of a loosely as against closely woven social structure; loosely integrated here signifying a culture in which considerable variation in individual behavior is sanctioned . . . [in contrast with] more tightly woven cultures--that is, cultures whose patterns are clearly marked and which emphasize the importance of observing reciprocal rights and duties in various situations to a greater degree than is to be found among the Thai (1950: 182).

Although various writers have pointed out that Embree's concept was loosely defined, others have made serious efforts to develop the concept. Thus, in one of the first papers to build on Embree's notion, Ryan and Strauss proposed the following definition (1954: 199):

> A society, its institutions, and consequently the behavior of the participants, may be termed "loosely structured" when:
>
> A. Norms are expressed with a wide range of alternative channels of conformity, frequently being implicit statements of principle around which individualized definitions of conformity are acceptable within broad and inexact boundaries.
>
> B. Behavior which goes beyond the acknowledged sphere of the normative is condoned or tolerated without the need for rationalization to competing or conflicting norms except in so far as the value of tolerance may be considered normative.
>
> C. Values of group organization, formality, permanence, durability and solidarity are undeveloped, giving group life the character of informal, unstable, and ill-defined associations in which group roles are subordinated to the individual ends of the participants.

More recently, in attempting to clarify the definition and applicability of the concept, Evers (1969b) has written:

> "Looseness" could mean:
>
> (1) only a small number of unprecise or alternative prescriptions for social action are perceived and known,
>
> (2) beliefs are widespread that prescriptions for action or "folk models" of social structure are not binding and must not necessarily be implemented,
>
> (3) there is a low frequency of the same type of behavior in similar social situations (p. 117).
>
> . . . The structure of social systems is described in models. Members of a society have their own models of their social system consisting of perceptions and prescriptions of behavior. . . . Folk models can be more or less strictly or loosely perceived: the more numerous and precise the prescriptions of the model, the "stricter" its structure.
>
> Social scientists can base their model . . . either on the [perceptive-normative] model or on observed or measured frequencies of behavior. The latter method yields a statistical model which also can be more or less strictly or loosely structured: the higher the

> frequency of certain types of behavior, the "stricter" the system.
>
> The strictness or looseness of the [perceptive-normative] or the [behavioral-statistical] model can vary over time and from society to society. There is also no compelling reason to assume that [both] models must be equally strict or loose for the same society (p. 119).

To the best of my knowledge, only Evers has explicitly distinguished between cultural principles and observed behavior in connection with the loose-tight variable. As we shall see below, most writers have simply taken Embree's characterization of Thailand as having "a culture in which considerable variation in individual behavior is sanctioned" to be the basis for the characterization of loose structure, and then proceed to give this their own construction.

Pelto (1968) has pointed out that Embree was not the first to delineate the contrast between "loose" and "tight" societies.[5] It is in the literature on Thailand, however, that the concept of loose structure has received most careful attention, culminating in a symposium on this topic in 1968, followed by a volume of papers enlarging on those presented in the symposium (Evers 1969a). A reading of this volume and some of the related literature shows that the concept of loose structure has been understood in quite different ways. In the first instance, it has been used to characterize the socio-cultural system as a whole. This is the way that Embree seems to have applied the term, and this sense of the term has subsequently been applied to the Thai data by other anthropologists such as Hanks (1962) and Phillips (1965). In evaluating this usage in the literature on Thailand, Mulder makes the following comment:

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[5] For example, Benedict (1934) contrasted the 'Appolonian' culture of the Southwestern Pueblos with the 'Dionysian' tendencies of the surrounding peoples, a contrast adapted from Nietzsche's examination of Greek drama.

> We have to look for the concept's development in the writings of those scholars . . . whose wcrk appears to be based less on empirial findings than on speculative impressions about the Thai social system. To them "loose structure" is not so much a realistic portrayal of structure in a strict sociological sense as a qualitative description of Thai behavior (1969: 18).

Mulder points out that not all elements of Thai society are equally loosely structured; some elements are tightly structured, and "there may be a host of non-ascriptive structural principles operating at the [village] level" (1967: 275). Similarly, Potter devotes more than a third of his recent book on Thai peasant social structure to arguing that "in rural Thailand, eleven structural elements may be seen to generate rural communities" (1976: 149). Taking a different tack, others who have evaluated the concept of loose structure stress the problem of selectivity in specifying the features that characterize loose structure and related difficulties in applying the concept in the comparative analysis of social systems (Kirsch 1969, Cunningham 1969, Pelto 1968, Ryan and Strauss 1954).

In responding to these criticisms, Phillips defends the use of the concept, pointing out that it is "a descriptive generalization and, like all descriptive generalizations, has limited empirical reference. . . . To my knowledge, nobody--Embree, Sharp, the Hanks, or myself--has ever characterized Thailand as loosely structured in a 'total' or 'blanket' way" (1969: 27-28). Phillips' argument is that "the primary value of the 'loose structure' concept is not that it encompasses all dimensions of social action but rather that it forces us to examine the reality and stability of our essentially static structural models" (1969: 38). Thus, he argues against others' objection that the notion of loose structure says little about structural principles as such or about the structure of Thai society:

> If our interests were merely the study of the structural principles of Thai society, we could not possibly disagree with this position. However, I must argue that ultimately our concern is not and should not be structural analysis but rather the study of the behavior of Thai peasants: how they act, how they deal with and feel toward one another, and what they give to and derive from such dealings. To me, social structural principles are merely constructs abstracted from the stream of behavior which may aid in understanding such behavior. . . . Mere existence of an institution says little about the behavior of people in it, toward it, or away from it. The fact that 59 percent of the adult village men have never become monks is not a mere epiphenomenon nor an artifact that can be explained away by such social science cant as "patterned deviation from the norm". If we are interested in behavior and not merely in abstract structural principles, it obviously is just as important, perhaps even more important, to know why village men do not become monks as to know why they do. . . . What I am suggesting is

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> that although these issues refer to nonparticipation in a cultural form or abdication of an institutional responsibility they also concern actual behavior, and as such they are just as significant to our understanding of Thai village life as is the existence, in the first instance, of the cultural form. Frankly, I do not think that by itself the concept of "loose structure" helps us very much in dealing with these specific issues. However, by sensitizing us to the fact that in some areas "considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned" in Thailand, it does lead us to recognize the relevance of these questions and to begin to answer them. . . . An overweening or exclusive concern with structural principles, structural analysis, or institutional forms without consideration, as is typically the case, of the magnitude and meaning of variation is simply to deny the behavioral reality of Thai peasant society (1969: 26-27).

Kirsch develops this argument, pointing out that

> . . . unlike the tightly structured situation for which conventional [social structural] theory was adequate, the residual element in the Thai case could not conveniently be explained away as idiosyncratic individual variation . . . precisely because it was institutionalized, socially sanctioned and culturally defined, and because it very clearly had social relevance (1969: 56).

For him this leads to "investigation of how the 'person' as an actor is articulated with his society" (1969: 59), involving the interpenetration of social, cultural, and psychological systems.

There is little disagreement among the contributors to the Evers volume about the ethnographic facts about Thailand to which their arguments refer; they disagree over the frame of analysis for interpreting the data. Those who reject the concept of loose structure (e.g., Mulder) tend to treat social relations in terms of group membership.

In doing this, they ignore the central problem identified by Kirsch: the relationship between the individual and 'the social structure'. On the other hand, the work of those who focus on this problem--notably Phillips (1963, 1965, 1967) and Piker (1968a, 1968b)--tends to be merely descriptive, with apparently little attempt made to search for regularity within the range of variation that is being described. Thus, the methodological problem is to find a structural approach that does not treat variability as a matter of residual patterns.

Analysis of some of the data presented in this dissertation exemplifies such an approach. This is a relatively new approach in the study of social structure, one that is concerned with the alternatives available to ordinary members of society, the constraints that affect their decisions in relation to these alternatives, and the patterns of choice that result because some alternatives are less attractive than others.[6] This kind of approach is known as the 'decision (or decision-making) approach to social structure'--a misleading label, since structural analyses accomplished by anthropologists using the approach have generally included little discussion of the processes by which people arrive at decisions, nothwithstanding the statements of decision theorists (Barth 1966, Fjellman 1976, Howard and Ortiz 1971, Quinn 1975) that a decision-making approach requires consideration of these processes.

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[6] I say "less attractive" because decision theorists point out that people normally satisfice rather than maximize (Fjellman 1976: 85).

The decision-making approach to the analysis of social structure is particularly useful in dealing with the problem of intra-societal variation because it directs attention to the fact of variability in the conditions and circumstances under which people make decisions about the ordering of their lives. The observable product of this decision-making can be viewed as a pattern of adaptive strategies. In speaking of 'adaptations', I use the term primarily in the Whittens' sense of "the concept of individual and group maneuver within cultural, ecological, and social structural constraints" (Whitten and Whitten 1972: 251). This maneuvering also exhibits adaptations in Bennett's sense of "the patterns formed by the many separate adjustments that people devise in order to obtain and use resources and to solve the immediate problems confronting them" (1969: 14). Both senses of 'adaptation' come into play in the decision-making approach to the analysis of variability in social structure. As Alan Howard expresses it:

> The central idea behind decision-making analysis . . . is an attempt to register and understand the full range of considerations used by . . . people when making decisions, and then to show how these combine to generate predictable behavioral performances (1970: 367-368).

Howard gives a fair statement of the approach. It would probably be generally accepted by those who use the approach except for reservations that some might have about his reference to 'predictable behavioral performances'. As Keesing points out, the goal of decision-making analysis need not be prediction:

> Our model, [even] if fully developed, would not "predict" the exact composition . . . Rather, we are trying to achieve a description that allows us to replicate, as much as possible, the expectations of our subjects. This will allow us to be surprised when they are surprised, and to render intelligible deviations from the expected pattern (1967: 14).

The decision-making approach described above is part of a growing tradition in anthropology that focuses on the adaptive behavior of people at the local level and which emphasizes the relationship between environmental and cognitive components of socio-cultural systems (Barth 1966, 1967, Bennett 1969, 1976, Erasmus 1961, Firth 1963, 1964, Goodenough 1970, and Leach 1961). Implicit in this kind of orientation is the view that diversity and changeability within a society, rather than being a matter of residual patterns, are to be expected as by-products of on-going processes of adaptation. Barth, for example, makes the following observation:

> What people do is also significantly constrained by circumstance: a whole range of facts of life, mainly ecological, enters as components because people's allocations are adjusted and adapted in terms of what they experience as the observed outcomes of their behavior. The strategic constraints of social life also enter and affect behavior (1967: 665).

In its emphasis on the adaptive behavior of ordinary people at the local level, the decision-making approach to structural variability differs significantly from the dominant anthropological approach to decision-making. The latter, which derives primarily from the work of some political anthropologists, generally focuses on leaders' decision-making and tends to ignore the decision-making of those who are not in the upper strata of the political hierarchy. For example, in Stratagems and Spoils: A Social Anthropology of Politics (1969), Bailey contrasts decision-making situations that vary along a continuum which ranges from those decisions "which arise as instant responses to an emergency, in which it is important for the leader to ensure that action is initiated quickly", to those that are "entirely consensual", of which he says that "it is, indeed, difficult to think of . . . as being the occasion for a decision at all" (1969: 67-68). It seems that for Bailey the decision-maker is a leader, almost as a matter of definition. He appears not to recognize that this view is perhaps a result of the fact that the kinds of decisions he emphasizes--those that provide directives for group action--are those that only a leader would make, and that he says little about other types of decision involved in political behavior. Yet his definition of 'decision' does not apply only to leadership-type decisions involving directives for group action but to all situations in which actual behavior is not prescribed: 121

> Decisions are called for in conditions of uncertainty: when no rules can be found to guide action or where there are several possible rules and a choice has to be made between them (Bailey 1969: 70).

While Bailey treats decision-making as an attribute of leadership, the analysis of decision-making in relation to optative forms of social structure is less elite-oriented. According to this frame of analysis, significant decision-making is not limited to the decisions of leadership; it is a fact of life and not the domain of only a few individuals. Quinn describes the emergence of this approach:

> "Jural" models assumed that persons in kin-based societies were constrained to membership in designated kin groups by force of custom, law, or ideology. This assumption was simplistic and inadequate . . . Another trend emerged and grew to fill this explanatory vacuum: a focus on the individual as the analytic unit out of which kin groups are composed. This approach adopts a view of human behavior as responsive to self-interest rather than obedient to societal norms and treats kin-group composition as a by-product of individual decisions, based on considerations of self-interest, to join or leave such groups (1975: 20-21).

Not surprisingly, the decision-making approach to social structural variation has grown out of the study of non-unilinear descent systems, where the ubiquity of decision-making is so evident (Barnes 1962, Coult 1964, Quinn 1975). Indeed, the term 'optative' was introduced by Firth in distinguishing "between descent-group systems which do

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not allow choice in affiliation as regards membership through male and female, and those which do" (1957: 4).

Terms like 'optative' and 'optation' characterize flexibility in affiliation and changeability in membership not only with reference to non-unilinear descent groups. Van Velsen, who studied optative elements of structure in a matrilineal society, defines what he calls the 'process of optation' in the following terms:

> Selection by an individual in any one situation from a variety of possible relationships . . . those relationships which they consider will serve their aims better. The particular relationships and norms selected are likely to vary in regard to the same individuals from one situation to another and in regard to similar situations from one individual to another (1967: 142-143).

The variability that Van Velsen speaks of is similar to what has been characterized in the literature on Thailand as the 'looseness' of 'loose structure'. Clearly, the process of optation does not apply only to matters of descent. There are studies of social structure that focus on optative elements in matters of adoption (Howard 1970, Keesing 1970, Konberg 1970), residence (Goodenough 1956, Leach 1961, Fehrson 1954), marriage (Horowitz 1967, Leach 1951, 1961, Ogan 1966) and divorce (Gibbs 1963), as well as optative elements in the formation of certain short-lived single-purpose 'activity groups' (Howard 1963, Keesing 1967). Much of this dissertation is concerned with optative elements of social structure at the local level of Tongan [128]

society, including matters of household composition, kin- 121
group affiliation, denominational affiliation, residence, 128
and participation in various local activities.

Synopsis

Following this introductory chapter comes a chapter 128
dealing with certain aspects of the national context of local organization in Tonga. The chapter deals mainly with the fact of increasing population pressure and with the statutory basis of the Tongan system of land tenure, since it is my argument in later chapters that access to land is a major limiting factor that may critically affect the alternatives available to the individual in Tonga. The chapter also includes a discussion of some of the criteria of variation and the range of diversity among Tongan villages, providing a comparative perspective for viewing the particular village in which most of the detailed ethnographic data were collected.

In Chapter III the discussion becomes centered on the village of Motulahi and on people and events associated with the village. The events span a period of about seventy years and illuminate the relationship between the formal features of the system of land tenure and some of the processes involved in acquiring access to land. We also see how this is affected by increasing population and by inter-island migration. The chapter includes a demographic description of the village population. It is here, in discussing the difficulties involved in enumerating the population of Motulahi, that we are first confronted with some of the implications of the fact that diversity and changeability are characteristic features of local organization in Tonga.

The next two chapters are concerned with variability in local organization, at the household level of organization (Chapter IV) and beyond the household level (Chapter V). The materials in these two chapters are based mainly on data from Motulahi, although they are concerned with processes and activities that are found throughout Tonga. Chapter IV focuses on the determinants of household composition. It will be seen that, while variability in household composition is affected by considerations of status, it is determined mainly by economic variables, including the question of access to land. Consideration of local-level economic and political stratagems is carried on into Chapter V. The chapter deals with the ways in which people can vary and manipulate their memberships in kin groups, church groups, and voluntary associations. These groups are the arena for the conduct of status-striving activities at the local level of Tongan society. The flexibility of stratagems and emphasis on individual decision-making that is so characteristic of Tongan social organization and which has been indicated at earlier points in the dissertation is particularly evident in this chapter. 128

In Chapter VI I return to consideration of the broader context of local organization in Tonga, discussing connections between local units and between the local level and the national level, with special attention to the problem of how the Tongan village is best viewed as a social unit. This chapter presents the ethnographic basis for the argument in the following chapter that the variability and flexibility that characterize the organization of Tongan society at the local level can be understood as adaptive mechanisms for distributing persons and allocating resources in the absence of directives from above.

The final chapter presents a summary of the thesis set out in the preceding account of social organization in Tongan society, and then the final section considers some of the Tongan data in broader theoretical and cross-cultural perspective.

CHAPTER II

THE NATIONAL SETTING

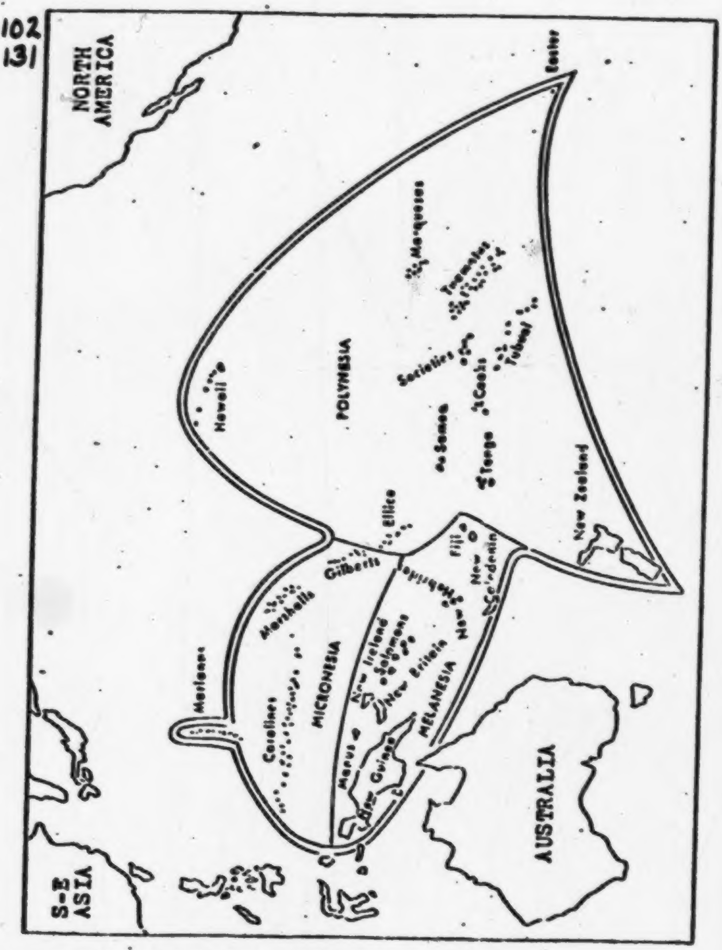
Since Tonga is little known, the national context of 121
the data presented in this dissertation must be indicated. It is my argument in later chapters that access to land is a limiting factor that may critically affect the range of alternatives available to the individual. Accordingly, this 128
chapter describes the contemporary situation of increasing population and growing shortage of land, followed by an historical account of the system of land tenure. The chapter also provides a further perspective on the particular village in which research was based through a review of criteria of differentiation among Tongan villages.

Geography and Natural Environment

The islands of Tonga lie east of Fiji and south of 131
Samoa in the southwest Pacific, between 15° and 23.5° South latitude and 173° to 177° West longitude (see Map 1). The northernmost island of Niuafo'ou is over 500 miles from the southernmost island, Ata. There are about 150 named islands, 101
but only thirty-six of the islands were inhabited at the 131
time of the last census, held in 1966 (Fiefia 1968: 38). 162

MAP 1. Oceania

102
131


NORTH AMERICA
S-E ASIA
AUSTRALIA
POLYNESIA
MICRONESIA
MELANESIA
Hawaii
Marianas
Carolines
Marshalls
Gilberts
Ellice
Marquesas
Tuamotus
Societies
Cooks
Tubuai
Samoa
Tonga
Fiji
New Caledonia
New Hebrides
New Britain
Solomons
New Ireland
Manus
New Guinea
New Zealand
Easter

Source: Valentine 1963: 48.

162
101 The inhabited islands comprise 238.81 square miles--almost
131 90% of the total land area. Thus, most of the islands of
133 Tonga are little more than elevated reefs. The total land area of the country is under 270 square miles, and all but seven of the islands are less than five square miles in area.

Geologically, Tonga is made up of two approximately parallel lines of islands, running north-east to south-west. Those on the western ridge, some ten in number, are of volcanic origin. Nearly all of these islands have steep rocky surfaces and high sea-cliffs, making landing difficult and yielding little land that is suitable for habitation or cultivation. From five to fifteen miles east of the volcanic ridge runs a line of coralline islands. These consist for the most part of atolls set among reefs, but the two largest islands, Tongatapu and Vava'u--which together comprise half the total land area of Tonga--are sloping limestone platforms. 'Eua and Niuatoputapu islands are another variation on the two main types, in that they are volcanic in origin with a limestone cover. They are the only Tongan islands
312 with natural running water. For the most part, the water supply on the other islands is provided by rainfall. During dry spells, recourse is made to the harsh but potable water available from wells dug through the limestone.

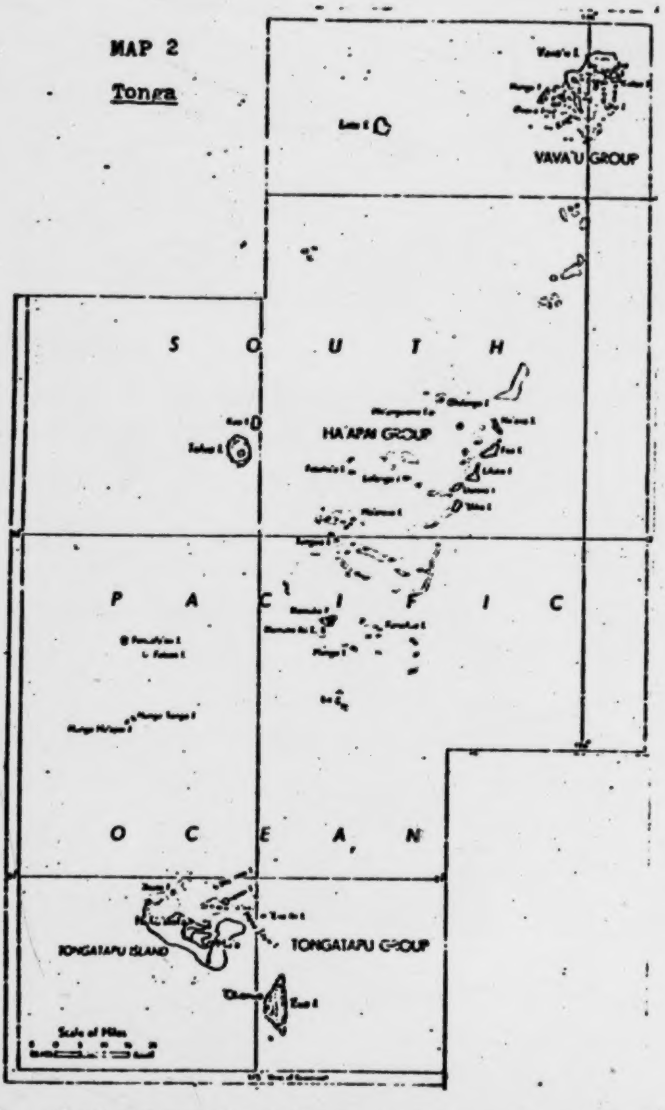
131 The coralline islands of Tonga form three clusters (see Map 2). The Tongatapu Group in the south consists of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 37]

102
131

MAP 2

Tonga


VAVA'U GROUP
S O U T H
HA'APAI GROUP
P A C I F I C
O C E A N
TONGATAPU ISLAND
TONGATAPU GROUP
Scale of Miles

Source: Adapted from the end-map in Tonga: Report for the years 1962 and 1963 (Great Britain 1965).

131 Tongatapu and 'Eua islands and a few smaller islets. The
131 Ha'apai Group consists of numerous small atolls. Fifteen of
162
161 these were inhabited at the time of the 1966 census. The
total area of the atolls of Ha'apai that were inhabited in
1966 is 20.1 square miles, with a population density of 521
131 per square mile. The Vava'u Group lies to the north-east
of Ha'apai. Like Tongatapu, it has a main island that gives
its name to the Group and a cluster of atolls nearby.

The distance between Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, the main
towns of Tongatapu and Vava'u, respectively, is 165 miles
(usually a matter of three days' journey on the government
132 passenger vessel). Within this distance the climate varies
from tropical in the northern islands to sub-tropical in the
south, with a mean annual rainfall of 86 inches in Vava'u
and 67 inches in Tongatapu (although with considerable
variation from one year to the next).

Yams, taro, sweet potato, manioc, breadfruit, bananas,
241
[184] plantains, coconuts and watermelons are grown throughout
Tonga, albeit in differing proportions in different parts
of the country. Except for breadfruit, these crops yield
all year round, and all but watermelons are important
241 subsistence crops. The principal cash crops are bananas,
433 coconuts and watermelons. Bananas and coconut products
[439] (copra and dessicated coconut) make up more than 90% of the
value of Tonga's exports. The nation's economy is based on

241 433 peasant production; the value of subsistence crops produced for local sale is negligible.

Population

161 [162] The population of Tonga at the census of 1966 was 77,429, of whom 98.31% were classified as Tongan (in contrast to others such as Europeans, part-Europeans, and other Pacific Islanders (Fiefia 1968: 7). The population total reflects an annual rate of increase of 3.24% in the period since the previous census, which was held in 1956, compared with 2.94% during the preceding intercensal period, 1939-56. [163] [165] The difference is explained not so much by any great change in the birth rate as by a reduction in the death rate. Table 1 shows population totals over a period of about fifty years, beginning with the census of 1911, the earliest census for which there are published figures available.

Population projections made by Norma McArthur, an Australian expert in Pacific demography, indicate an estimated population of more than 100,000 by 1975 and more than double the population of 1956 by 1980 (Kingdom of Tonga Economic Survey of Tonga 1970: Appendix A.1). These projections, based on the findings of the 1956 and 1966 censuses, assume the maintenance of age-specific fertility rates and continued slowly falling mortality rates, with no significant outmigration. McArthur's projections appear to be slightly on the high side, for her estimate was that the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 40]

TABLE 1

Census Enumerations in Tonga in Various Years, 1911-1966 161

Year	Enumerated population	Average annual rate of increase
1911	23,017	
		0.83
1921	24,937	
		1.56
1931	28,839	
		2.29
1939	34,130	
		3.91
1956	56,838	
		3.62
1966	77,429	

Sources: 1911-1939, McArthur 1968: 79-82;
1956-1966, Fiefia 1968: 6.

161 population in 1970 would be 87,406, whereas the Report for the Department of Justice for 1970 (1971: 3) indicated an estimated population of 86,005 at the end of 1970, based on the number of births and deaths registered during the year. However, in commenting on the results of the 1956 census, McArthur notes that "neither the birth nor death registration is very complete" (1968: 96) and that it is therefore necessary to make adjustments for under-registration. We must therefore await the report on the census held in December 1976 before we can properly gauge the accuracy of McArthur's projections.

161
162 Table 2 presents a comparison of the results of the 1956 and 1966 censuses, and shows the distribution of population among the inhabited islands. The results of these censuses indicate that there is no need to look far into the future to see that Tonga faces problems of population pressure. While the density of population was 211 per square mile in 1956, by 1966 this had risen to 288 per square mile. Moreover, these figures refer to the total land area of Tonga, including uninhabited and largely uninhabitable islands. Thus, a better statement of the reality of the situation is that the density of population on the inhabited islands was 324 persons per square mile, compared with 274 in 1956. Possibly the most significant datum to emerge from a comparison of the results of the 1956 and 1966 censuses is that, while the population as a whole

[TEXT CONTINUED ON

TABLE 2

Intercensal Changes in the Distribution of Population among Inhabited Islands

Island/Group	Area (sq. miles)	Percentage of total population 1956 N=56,838	Percentage of total population 1966 N=77,429	Intercensal increase in population %	Density per square mile 1956	Density per square mile 1966
Tongatapu Group (4 islands)	133.61	58.4	66.3	+ 54.6	248	384
Ha'apai Group (15 islands)	20.10	17.4	13.5	+ 5.5	493	521
Vava'u Group (13 islands)	46.03	22.0	17.5	+ 8.5	272	294
Northern islands excluding Niuafo'ou (2 islands)	7.62	2.2	1.8	+ 11.2	165	183
Niuafo'ou Island	13.41	NA	0.8	NA	NA	45
Tofua Island	18.05	NA	0.2	NA	NA	7
TOTAL	238.82	100.0	100.2	+ 36.2	274	324

Sources: Fiefia 1968: 38, Tupouniua 1958: 43.

161 increased by 36.2%, the increase was not uniform throughout
162 the islands. On the contrary, there was an absolute
decrease in population on nine islands, and only two islands
of more than one square mile in area had an increase in
population of more than 20% over the figure for 1956. These
are the islands of Tongatapu and 'Eua.

131 'Eua is a large island a few miles to the south-east
133 of Tongatapu. Because of intervening reefs, it can be
[505] reached only by a roundabout passage after a very rough
[313] sea-voyage of about five hours. The island rises in a
series of rocky terraces to about 1,000 feet above sea level,
with steep valleys that are the major source of timber in
Tonga, leaving relatively little land suitable for cultivation.
For these reasons, the island is not very attractive
161 for settlement. At the time of the census of 1939, the
162 population of 'Eua was only 480. After a volcanic eruption
166 [731] on the northernmost island of Niuafo'ou in 1946, many of
the people of that island were settled on 'Eua; at the
census of 1956, more than 40% of the population of 'Eua over
the age of nine had been born on Niuafo'ou. Besides this
Niuafo'ou influx, the increase in the population of 'Eua
is accounted for largely by migration from other islands,
161 especially by men seeking land. Even so, with an intercensal
162 population increase of 76.2%, the density of population on
'Eua in 1966 was only 100 per square mile, almost the lowest
[133] of any island in Tonga. Moreover, while there is still some

161 land available on 'Eua for settlement and cultivation, there
162 is no possibility that the island could support the kind of
133 density found on most of the other islands, owing to the
nature of the terrain.

161 As Table 2 indicates, the burden of intercensal
162 population increase and inter-island migration has fallen
166 mainly on the island of Tongatapu. Tongatapu has 40% of
[131] the land area of Tonga and 60% of the population. The
population of the island increased by more than 50% in the
161 ten years between 1956 and 1966. Much of this increase has
162 been concentrated in the urban area of Nuku'alofa, the
368 capital of Tonga. Thus, while the intercensal population
increase for Tonga as a whole was 36%, and the increase for
the rural areas of Tongatapu was 42%, the increase for the
Nuku'alofa urban area was 79%. This includes the one-time
village of Haveluloto, now virtually a suburb of Nuku'alofa,
which in 1956 had a population of 292 and in 1966 had a
population of 1,334.

161 In summary, there have been two kinds of population
162 flow in Tonga associated with the increase in population.
166 One kind of migration has involved settlement on islands
that have land available for cultivation (primarily the
island of 'Eua, but also some resettlement on Niuafo'ou
beginning in 1958). The second flow has been towards the
island of Tongatapu. On the remaining islands, the total
number of people has remained relatively constant, but

this is only because there has been considerable migration from these islands. 161 162 166

It would seem, then, that insofar as there has been pressure resulting from increased population, this has been concentrated in the Nuku'alofa area. To that extent, the problems of increased population in Tonga are mainly the problems attendant on rapid urbanization. However, that is not the full story, for the movement to Nuku'alofa is largely related to the landless condition of many of those who have migrated (Walsh 1969). According to the census of 1966, 52% of all adult males (i.e., men aged twenty and over) had no land to their names, whereas two-thirds of the men living in the Nuku'alofa area were landless. Unfortunately, there are no comparable statistics available for 1956, as no question about land ownership was asked in that census. There is no doubt, however, that landlessness is a growing phenomenon, related to rising population. This can be seen , for example, in the figures on land-holding, which shown an inverse relationship between landlessness and and age (see Table 3). 161 368 166 423 162 162 423 [561]

The significance of increasing landlessness stems from the fact that Tonga is largely a country of peasant proprietors, of people engaged in agriculture for household consumption and export who work on land that is under the control of a member of the household. In the census of 1966, 70% of all Tongan men between the ages of twenty and 162 423 241

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

TABLE 3

Agricultural Allotment Holders, by Age, 1966

Age group	Number in the age group	Allotment holders Number	Percentage
16 - 19	3,193	254	8.0
20 - 29	5,778	1,137	19.7
30 - 39	4,308	1,829	42.5
40 - 49	3,072	2,052	66.8
50 - 59	1,813	1,472	81.2
60 - 69	1,091	964	88.4
70 and over	636	564	88.7
Not stated	112	33	29.5
TOTAL	20,003	8,305	41.5

Source: Fiefia 1968: 88.

162
423
561

sixty were classed as being engaged primarily in agriculture 162
for household consumption and export. This is a figure for 423
the total population, including men who reside in the towns. 241
As Walsh points out in a paper entitled "A Tongan Urban
Peasantry?",

> Town dwellers are inescapably bound up with the land. They own it as much as villagers, they rely on it to supplement wages kept low on the assumption of an additional income from agriculture, they value it as a means of fulfilling family obligations and as a measure of their social importance and they depend on it for food (1969: 93). [465]

The figures on external trade (quoted earlier) further 439
indicate the role of agriculture in the Tongan economy: 423
throughout the 1960s, bananas and coconut products made up
over 90% of the value of Tonga's exports. Furthermore,
there are no grounds for anticipating the development of
non-agricultural exports on any significant scale. In the 315
late 1960s, much hope was based on the possibility that explorations
for oil would prove fruitful. This has not yet
materialized, however. And in trying to develop non- 439
agricultural industries, Tonga is in the difficult position
of having to compete with Fiji and Western Samoa, both of
which enjoy relatively large home markets and are also more
advantageously placed to export their goods.

In view of Tonga's dependence on agriculture both for 311
subsistence and export, the rising population figures are 161
cause for concern about increasing pressure on land as an 241
agricultural resource. A figure for 1963 gives the extent [134]

of land suitable for cultivation as amounting to 92,447 311
acres, approximately 60% of the total land area (Great 161
Britain 1965: 21), and it is unlikely that arable land can 241 [134]
be increased significantly. This means that higher yields of subsistence crops are required from existing acreage if the extent of land under cash crops is not to be reduced, and geographers have already documented changing patterns of land use and cultivation in Tonga (Maude 1970, 1973; Thaman 1976).

The question arises whether there is a shortage of 423
land. 'Land shortage', however, is not something that can 121
directly and unequivocably be infered from figures on population density. Rather, it implies a scarcity of land to meet local needs given the available technology, and varies with the definition given to 'scarcity' and 'local needs' as well as being dependent upon practices of land use and the level of technology. In the case of Tonga, however, the definitional problem falls away, for there is a readily available index of land shortage. According to 423
Tongan law, every Tongan male aged sixteen and over is [651]
liable for an annual poll-tax, and every poll-tax payer is entitled to an allotment of agricultural land measuring 100 fathoms by 100 fathoms (approximately 8¼ acres).
Whether there is sufficient land to provide these allotments [162]
can be taken as a criterion of whether or not there is a shortage of land, and by this criterion there is a definite

shortage. Thus, McArthur has written:

> The Tongan government is likely to be in difficulties before 1971 if every male aged 16 years or more pays his tax and claims his 8¼ acres of land because . . . there will not then be enough land in the whole Kingdom for much more than an average of 6½ acres per [eligible] male (1968: 97). 423 162

McArthur's figures refer to Tonga's total land area, not just to the land available for agricultural allotments. In terms of cultivable land, there was only enough for 4.6 acres per eligible male at the time of the census of 1966; the amount of land required exceeded the amount available by 79%.[1] It could be argued that only a man who is an adult and who is engaged in farming needs an agricultural allotment of his own. In that case, given the extent of [134] cultivable land (92,447 acres) and the number of men aged twenty or more enumerated in the census as being engaged primarily in farming for household consumption and export, in 1966 there was only enough land to provide each man with an allotment of just over 8 acres.

The statutory basis of the system of land tenure is 423 set out next. The operation of the system at the local [128] level--particularly the means of gaining access to land--are discussed in later chapters. The point emphasized here [162]

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[1] In fact, according to the census of 1966, only 41.5% of all eligible males had an agricultural allotment (see Table 3). The apparent inconsistency between the figure of 41.5% and the theoretical possibility of 56% is [565] accounted for by the fact that there are landed chiefs who have holdings of considerably more than 8¼ acres.

is that landlessness in Tonga is a growing phenomenon. 423
Scarcity of land is not a recent factor in Tongan society.[2] 162
What is new about the present situation is the phenomenon [161]
of widespread and growing landlessness, and this phenomenon is directly associated with the rising growth of the population.

Historical Background to the System of Land Tenure

Given the facts of land tenure and people's dependence on agriculture, it is clear that the organization of access to and control over land is crucial for any discussion of contemporary social organization in Tonga. Indeed, many features of the system of local organization are incomprehensible without reference to the system of land tenure and some understanding of how that system came into being. As Diaz and Potter stress in their essay on peasant society, "it is impossible to understand the social life of a peasant community without taking state policy and its history into account" (1967: 167). 423

The present system of land tenure in Tonga came into existence in 1882, but it is rooted in the system of political authority, whose history goes back over one 423 thousand years. Knowledge of Tonga's history before the 173 eighteenth century is based primarily on oral tradition, consisting mainly of a listing of the sacred rulers, the Tu'i Tonga, and tales about them and their followers (Wood 1932, Gifford 1929, Collocott 1924). This history, scanty though it is, depicts the steady accretion of power and territorial expansion from a center on the main island of Tongatapu. In the course of events, two positions were created to accomodate the expansion of the ruler's power. First, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title was created, around 1450, and the person occupying that title took over many of the secular responsibilities of the Tu'i Tonga. Later, with the increase in dominion, the Tu'i Kanokupolu title was created, early in the seventeenth century.

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[2] Since Tonga is a country of many small islands, it might be expected that land would be relatively scarce in some areas, and hence a valued resource. Even in 1882, when the present system of land tenure was introduced, land was comparatively scarce in Ha'apai and in the western part of Tongatapu (Maude 1971: 111).

It was at about this time that Europeans first visited 175 the Tonga Islands, beginning with the Dutch navigators 177 Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, but in the following century and a half there were only two further visits. Next, in 1773, Captain James Cook visited Tonga in the course of his second voyage around the world, and from then on Europe and Tonga were in fairly continual contact. The first Christian [797] missionaries came to Tonga in 1797, although it was not until 1826 that a permanent mission was established.

Shortly before the end of the eighteenth century, 175 669

Tonga entered a period of civil war. The fighting was touched off by the assassination of the 14th Tu'i Kanokupolu 175 669 but it seems clear that the assassination was merely the spark that touched it off. The cause of the conflict was the struggle for power among a number of chiefs that had been going on throughout the eighteenth century and which became centered on conflict over succession to the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu. Once war broke out it was waged for more than half a century, involving different chiefs in changing alliances, leaving some islands peaceful for a few years and at other times devastating them with slaughter and famine.

The leader of the ultimately winning faction was 643 [669] Tāufa'āhau, who was a grandson of the Tu'i Kanokupolu whose assassination had touched off the civil war. Tāufa'āhau ruled until his death in 1893, and his long reign provided continuity and a source of stability. In 1845, at the age of forty-nine, Tāufa'āhau succeeded to the title of Tu'i Kanaokupolu. He then suppressed the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua title, which had not had an incumbent for almost fifty years. He dared not suppress the Tu'i Tonga title while the incumbent was still alive, but when the latter died in 1865 Tāufa'āhau suppressed that title too. Ten years later he declared himself to be King George Tupou the First, and the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'atakalaua titles and also his own title of Tu'i Kanokupolu were absorbed in the newly-created monarchy.

As historians of the period have pointed out (Lātūkefu 643
1974, Rutherford 1971), it must be understood that many 671
of the statutes affecting land tenure are a by-product of 423
legislation variously aimed at curtailing the power of the 643
chiefs relative to that of the king, averting the threat of
foreign takeover, and raising government revenues.
Beginning with his Vava'u Code of 1839, Tāufa'āhau promul- 671
gated a series of legal codes embodying Christian principles 643
and social reform (Lātūkefu 1974). These moves, however, 648
failed to win from the European Powers any formal recognition of Tonga's sovereignty. Against the threat of [642]
European takeover, Tāufa'āhau redoubled his efforts to
achieve for Tonga the status of a modern state, and to this
end promulgated the Tongan Constitution (whose centenary
was celebrated in November 1975).

The Constitution has three main sections (Lātūkefu 642
1974). The first section contains a declaration of rights guaranteeing fundamental freedoms and equality before the law, and was the demonstration to the world that Tonga was a civilized and liberal state. The second and third sections of the Constitution deal with the means of effective government. The second section is concerned with the new form of government that was to be set up, including the creation of a constitutionally-limited monarchy, a partly elective Legislative Assembly to replace the previous Assembly of

Chiefs, and the institution of a landed nobility. The 642
third section of the Constitution deals with the operation
of the new system of land tenure associated with the newly-
created nobility.

The creation of the landed nobility was built in to 642
the radically reorganized system of land tenure (Lātūkefu 423
1974, Rutherford 1971, Maude 1971). The entire country 565
was divided into tracts of land designated for agricultural [311]
purposes and tracts designated for residential purposes,
bush land (*'uta*) and town land (*kolo*). All town land was [427]
to be the property of the government, who would lease land
in residential areas to those who wished to dwell there.
Bush lands were divided into large parcels of land known as
tofia ('inherited estate'), most of which were vested in
individual nobles. Allotments of agricultural land could [427]
be obtained by leasing them from the owner of the *tofia*.
The intent of these provisions, as Rutherford explains it,
was to create

> . . . a peasantry with secure tenure of portions of land adequate to satisfy their needs and free from chiefly demands and encumbrances, and a nobility with holdings large enough to satisfy their relatively higher demands for status and remuneration (1971:99).

The new system of land tenure was an instrument of [425]
security for the state, for it reinforced long-standing [609]
prohibitions by Tāufa'āhau against the sale of Tongan land
to foreigners. However, the institution of leasehold set [427]
aside the principle of life-long security of tenure for

Tongans, which had been an important feature of an earlier 642
code promulgated by Tāufa'āhau. The concept of leases for 423
Tongans may have been introduced to increase the commoner's 565
sense of security of tenure and thereby encourage entrepre- 427
neurship. In practice, it had the opposite effect, for
the noble was under no requirement to agree to the issuance
of a formal lease on land within his tofia, and in fact no
leases of bush land were ever issued under the provisions
for leasing set out in the Constitution. The people
continued to live and work on the land they occupied but,
with the uncertainties and insecurity resulting from the
new laws, they ceased to improve the land.

By 1880 the government was heavily in debt, for 651
there was little income in taxes or other fees to be
collected from the peasantry. Under these circumstances, 423
the Legislative Assembly was inclined to ratify proposals 642
for revision of the land law, for the provisions of the 646
Constitution would have to be amended if economic growth
was to take place. Several alterations were accepted in 423
1881, including the assignment of the government's town 642
lands to the nobles and the elevation of a number of 565
additional chiefs to landed status. These preliminary
revisions favored and strengthened the nobility, inclining
them to accept further revisions that were designed to
ensure the security of the ordinary landholder. When the [646]
Assembly met again in 1882, the revision of the land laws
was completed.

was completed. 000

The steps leading up to the proclamation of the Act of 1882 have been set out here in some detail because this is the Act whose basic provisions have remained in force to this day. The Land Act of 1927 brought up to date the Act of 1882 and subsequent legislation (Nayacakalou 1959). There have since been minor amendments, but none of these have affected the main features of the Act of 1882 (Wylie 1967). These laws provide that every Tongan male aged sixteen and over is entitled to a residential allotment ('api kolo) of two-fifths of an acre and an agricultural allotment ('api 'uta) of eight and a quarter acres. Once an allotment has been granted, the tofia owner may not dispossess an allotment holder under any circumstances. Allotments are vested in the individual allotment holder and are heritable in the male line. Any other form of disposal of an allotment is forbidden. 423 423 425 [428]

This, then, is the historical background to the Tongan system of land tenure. My purpose has been to indicate how those provisions of the system of land tenure that affect access to land by ordinary Tongans living in villages came to be the way they are. It must be noted, however, that the system of land tenure--while certainly it has local manifestations--is essentially a societal or national-level system, and is bound up with the new system 423 [121] [565] of social stratification that appears to be emerging in Tonga (Maude 1971; Marcus 1975b,1976). The study of this wider system was beyond the scope of my investigation. 423 565

Variability Among Villages

The ethnographic data presented in this dissertation 101 were collected mainly among the people of Motulahi, a village on Tongatapu. It might be asked whether Motulahi 182 is a typical village. However, the notion of a typical 621 village (which is generally of dubious ethnological validity) has no application to Tonga, for there is considerable diversity among Tongan villages with respect to a number of important variables. For example, there are significant differences between isolated village-islands on the one hand and villages on the relatively large island of Tongatapu on the other, or between a village on Tongatapu less than a mile from Nuku'alofa and another at the far end of the island. Villages in Tonga also differ considerably [361] with respect to size of population, from less than one hundred people to more than one thousand, and the dimension of village size cuts across the dimension of location. There are also differences among villages with respect to ecological setting, demographic pressures, diversity of income-producing activities, and the number of local congregations and other community organizations. Other variables include such factors as whether the village is

182 621 on a government estate or a noble's estate (and, if it is a noble's estate, whether the noble is resident in the village), what schools are available, what modes of transportation are available, and so on.

114 I began to recognize the variety of local conditions in Tonga and the fact of variability from one village to the next within the first month of beginning fieldwork, after taking a week's boat-trip among the islands of Ha'apai. There I had the opportunity to observe a considerable range of ecological and demographic settings, in addition to what I had already seen and learned of the
121 diversity on Tongatapu. As I began to appreciate the variability of Tongan society at the local level, it became clear that I ought to conduct my research in a village that embraced as much as possible of this diversity. The following is an extract from my first report from the field, written five weeks after my arrival in Tonga, setting out the factors that were prompting me to select the village of Motulahi as my research base:

> It seems to me that (a) I should be on Tongatapu, (b) outside Nuku'alofa and its immediate fringing villages, in a village (c) sufficiently close to Nuku'alofa that students at secondary schools would live at home rather than reside with relatives in town, and (d) sufficiently large that there would be more than one school and more than one or two individuals with different bases of power within the same village. . . .
>
> 121 621 The place I have chosen is the village of Motulahi, which combines a number of interesting features: (1) the village is only 5-6 miles (15 minutes by bus) outside of Nuku'alofa. A number of persons work in

> 121 Nuku'alofa and commute, as do secondary-school children,
> 621 and there is to-and-froing to shops and visiting.
> [872] [873] (2) Motulahi forms a cluster with three other villages . . . (total population: about 3,000). Among them they have one boys' secondary school, one intermediate school, and four primary schools. Children from one village attend the school run by a particular church
> [794] in another. Attendance at church and church membership also cuts across village affiliation.
> (3) The villages constitute an interesting political contrast, in that two of them are on government land and two on noble's land, one of which is at present headless because there is a vacant title with little probability of an heir.
>
> Possibly, this village will provide me with something of a cross section of Tongan society outside
> [184] of Nuku'alofa. . . . At the same time, I am aware that more remote villages (which are usually considerably smaller and, by definition, would be less technologically sophisticated and have less interaction with the capital) may be organized very differently. I cannot apprehend the significance of that at this time, and will therefore not concern myself with that problem until it becomes a real question that I could try to answer.

621 In one respect, at least, Motulahi is particularly unlike most other villages in that the population is very
162 much larger than that of most villages. According to the
621 census of 1966, Motulahi's population numbered 1,122, making it one of only eight villages in the whole of Tonga with a population of more than one thousand people. At the same time, half of all the villages in Tonga had a population under three hundred. However, the population of all these small villages accounted for less than one fifth of the total population of Tonga, and only one quarter of all the people living in villages. (Indeed, the aggregate population of villages that had more than seven hundred people was greater than that of all villages

that had fewer than three hundred people.) Furthermore, 162
the factor of size of population may be of only minor 621
significance. Admittedly, there is likely to be more 621
heterogeneity in large villages, simply as a function of
their having more people. However, accounts of villages
that have fewer than three hundred people suggest that
the structure of these villages and their relation to
other units of structure may be very similar to that of
Motulahi (Aoyagi 1966, Beaglehole 1941, Morton 1972). And
even in these small villages there may be considerably
diversity.

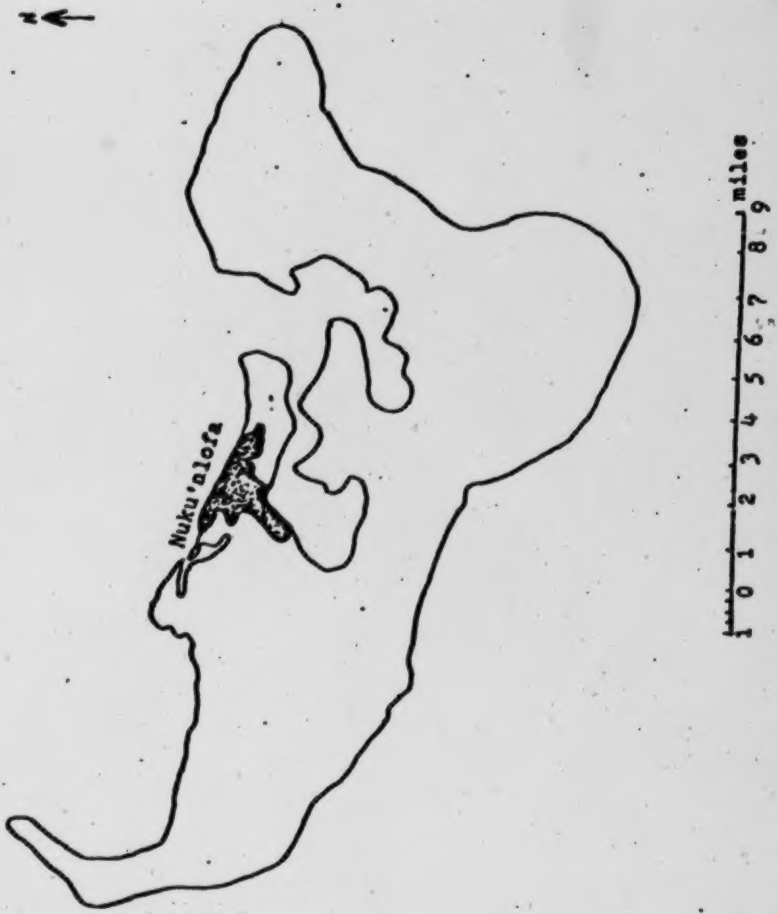
While Motulahi is not necessarily very different from 361
smaller villages, it may be significantly different from
villages that are remote from urban influences. While it [494]
is in no sense a suburb of Nuku'alofa, there is very easy
access to town via the many buses and trucks which ply the
main roads that run east and west on Tongatapu and converge
on Nuku'alofa. On the other hand, there is fairly easy
access to town from virtually all the villages on
Tongatapu (see Map 3). The same is largely true on the
island of Vava'u, although public transportation is less
well developed there. The contrast in this respect, therefore,
is with the isolated village-islands elsewhere in
Tonga. There is fairly easy small-boat sailing within the 361
island clusters in good weather, but the weather is not 505
always good. Larger vessels appear only at irregular and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

MAP 3

Tongatapu Island

102
36.1


N
Nuku'alofa
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
miles

Source: Adaptation of end-map in the Program for the Visit of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II . . . 1970 (Government of Tonga 1970b).

unpredictable intervals, leaving these islands isolated 361
for many weeks at a time and their people more independent [505]
of money and markets than people living on the bigger
islands. At the time of the census of 1966 there were [162]
27 islands that had a population of less than one thousand
people; these islands comprised just under 10% of the
total population of Tonga. Although I was not in a 361
position to investigate it, these village-islands may be 621
different in their political structure from villages that 184
are not isolated from urban centers and from other villages.
Certainly, the look of these village-islands reflects a [511]
simpler material standard of living than villages on
Tongatapu, and this is related to the fact that there is
less involvement in the cash economy. It should be noted, 621
however, that the village is probably not a significant 184
unit of variation with respect to the degree of conservativeness
of the people living there, for--as we shall see
in later chapters--villages as such are not significant
units of organization. In this regard it is interesting 621
to note that Belshaw makes a similar point about villages 184
in Fiji: 171

> However important the village is in sentiment and ceremony, and however conservative Fijians may be with respect to the varieties of cultural expression reflected in villages, villages themselves are not the basis of social or economic variation. The notion that this village is progressive, whereas that is conservative, is too simple an explanation of differences in adjustment that may be evident (1964: 35).

Summary

This chapter has presented the background information essential for understanding the national context of local-level processes. It is clear from the materials presented in this chapter that there is considerable diversity among Tongan villages relating to the basic facts of the distribution of the population. It is therefore worth emphasizing that there is a good deal of population movement in Tonga, as we have seen in this chapter and will have reason to note in the chapters that follow, and this tends to mitigate the differentiating effects of the differences in village size and location.

128

[182]

[166
182]

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE OF MOTULAHI

361
178 Villages in Tonga are the cumulative product of historic events and subsequent individual and group adaptations. Thus, compact settlements came about during the period of civil war, and then the separation between kolo (town) and 'uta (bush) became standardized through legislation. Other features that make up the look of Tongan villages, such as the relative proximity of the houses, are the result of ongoing processes of population growth and increasing pressure on land resources.

121 As we have seen in the preceeding chapter, there may be some danger in generalizing from the village of Motulahi to other villages. Nevertheless, data on local organization collected in Motulahi are not representative only of the people of Motulahi. Goodenough points out that "the same cultural principles can produce statistically different outputs in different circumstances" (1970: 57). In presenting data from Motulahi, my aim is to show how Tongan cultural principles have shaped the way in which people now living in Motulahi have dealt with the circumstances in which they found themselves.

The chapter first describes the layout and look of the village, followed by an account of the history of settlement at Motulahi and a brief demographic description of the people resident in the village at the time of my fieldwork. 128 It will be seen that the effects of increasing population and inter-island migration have been marked in Motulahi for more than thirty years and have contributed to the diversity of the present population. [161] [164] Materials presented in this chapter also illustrate something of the possible range of variation in the relationship between a Tongan noble and his people, particularly as this relationship is affected by population pressure and other developments in Tonga over the past few decades.[1]

The Look of the Village

Motulahi is located about six miles from Nuku'alofa. 361 [101] [131] The residential part of the village lies on either side of a mile-long section of the main road running from town towards the eastern end of the island. Immediately to the north is the marshy area that borders the lagoon, while on the other side agricultural allotments run about a mile and a half to the sea (see Map 4). As in all Tongan villages, kolo (the residential part of the village) is distinct from 'uta (the land divided into agricultural allotments). In

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 66]

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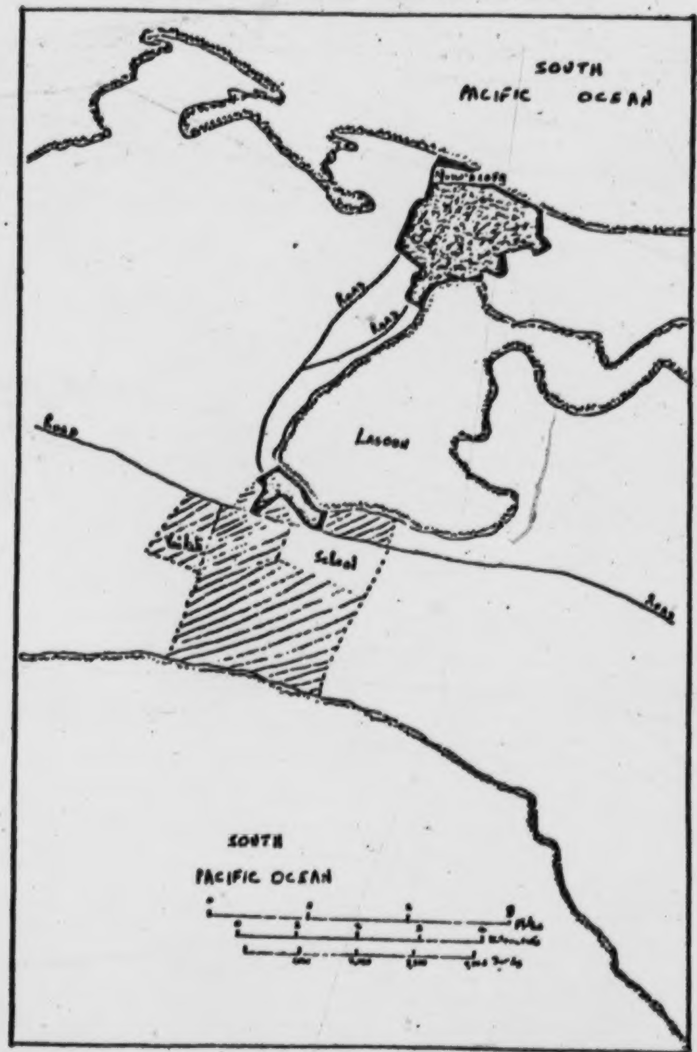
[1] For further description of relations between a noble and his people, see Marcus (1976) and Rogers (1968).

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

MAP 4. Central Section of Tongatabu


SOUTH
PACIFIC OCEAN
Road
Road
Road
Lagoon
School
Road
SOUTH
PACIFIC OCEAN

102
361
491
133
368

Source: Adaptation of a map of Tongatapu supplied by the Tonga Department of Lands and Surveys.

361 Motulahi, 'uta covers an area of about one thousand acres
and kolo is about one hundred acres. The description that
follows refers to the residential sector of the village,
unless otherwise noted.

The eastern part of Motulahi has been settled only
[368] during the past twenty-five years. On this side, the
village ends abruptly at the fenced enclosures of two
schools, one on each side of the road (see Map 5). In the
western part of the village there has been continuous
settlement for a number of generations. This part of the
village is known as loto kolo (the center of the village).
Here the houses extend to the boundary with the neighboring
village of Kolotau. Houses in Kolotau also come right up
to the boundary, and where one village ends and the other
begins is not apparent to the casual observer.

361 Motulahi was surveyed in the early 1960s and 152
423
[659] residential allotments were demarcated. All of these
allotments (known as 'api, short for 'api kolo, 'town
allotment') were already allocated, and all but twelve were
[659] occupied during the period of my fieldwork. In loto kolo
the survey confirmed the boundaries of existing house
plots, some of which have been registered with the Department
of Lands since the 1920s. These lots are irregularly
shaped and most are larger, although a few are smaller,
than the statutory size of 1 rood and 24 perches (2/5 of
an acre). On the lagoon side of the road, however, all but

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 68]

102
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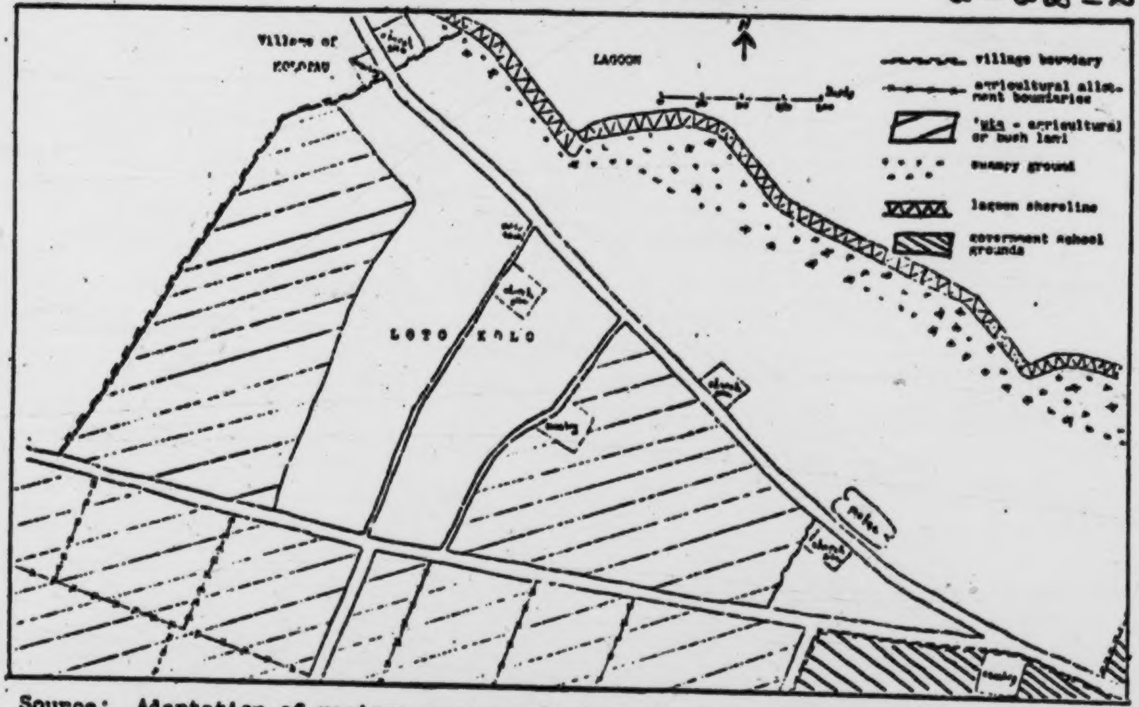
363
491
423

MAP 5. Residential Sector of Motulahi


Village of
KOLOFO'OU
LAGOON
N
LOTO KOLO
village boundary
agricultural allotment boundaries
'uta - agricultural or bush land
swampy ground
lagoon shoreline
government school grounds

Source: Adaptation of various maps supplied by the Tonga Department of Lands and Surveys, supplemented by fieldwork observations.

361 423 the most westerly lots are of rectangular shape and statutory size.

On either side of loto kolo are two large areas of partly-cultivated bush land, each comprising about 26 acres. 361 423 565 Each of these tracts is associated with the title of a petty chief; one title is Paluvalevale, the other is Mafua.[2] The titles originated with the men who were first given the land, about one hundred years ago. Paluvalevale was the son of the noble of Motulahi by one of his lesser wives, and Mafua was one of the noble's ceremonial attendants or matāpule. Today, each title is held by a descendant of the original title-holder. They and their families control the land and use it for their own benefit, collecting coconuts for making copra and using small areas within the tract for the cultivation of root crops.

361 423 These green tracts in the middle of the village give Motulahi a misleadingly rustic and under-populated appearance. The green vista unfolds as one walks along the curving main road, complementing the coconut palms and trees and other greenery that is dotted about the landscape of the village. The tracts have not been divided into 8¼-acre agricultural allotments since the land is intended for

---

[2] Explication of the system of titles is beyond the scope of this dissertation, for the system is essentially a national-level phenomenon. Bott (1972), Coult (1959), Kaeppler (1971), and Marcus (1975b) have usful articles on this topic, and I have written on the subject of the local operation of the Tongan system of titles (Decktor Korn 1976).

361 residential use, but it cannot be allocated for residential
423 purposes because it has not yet been surveyed and divided
into town allotments. A brother of one of the present
title-holders has repeatedly bragged that he would cut up
the man who cuts up his land, and the noble has avoided
the risk of precipitating a crisis by not calling in the
Department of Lands to make its survey. There is beginning
to be a shortage of residential land in Motulahi, however,
and already a number of town allotments are occupied by
more than one household.

351 Town allotments present a decidedly non-uniform
appearance. Besides whatever vegetation there may be on
the _'api_, each household has a number of different-looking
[342] structures. First, there is the main house, comprising
343 living and sleeping quarters. Then there is the _beito_, an
351 open-sided lean-to adjacent to the house or a few feet
[514] away, which serves as a kitchen or cook-house. Somewhat
[515] further away from the main house there is a small enclosure
over a pit-latrine (_fale mālōlō_) and another enclosure,
[513] usually open-roofed, used for bathing (_fale kaukau_). In
some cases, there are other structures as well, providing
additional sleeping space. And there may also be an
enclosure in which small animals such as chickens and pigs
351 are penned. Besides these structures, each _'api_ usually
[296] has a line or two of colorful laundry, and during the day
there may be mats and bedding spread out to air. The look

of an *'api* is further enlivened by the children and young 351
people, who spend much of the time outside during the day.

Besides a lively appearance, there is generally a 512
lively (although not noisy) daytime sound in the village.
In the mornings, while children are at school, one hears [287]
the rhythmic tones of wood striking wood as women beat the
bark of the paper mulberry, making tapa cloth. And in the [526]
afternoons there are shouts of excitement as the young
people play basketball. In the late afternoon, the sound [533]
of unaccompanied singing can be heard from one or other of [794]
the churches. But after about nine in the evening, most [574]
people are indoors, at home or visiting neighbors, and
village sounds are muted.

The boundaries of a number of *'api* are marked by a 351
fence, whose main purpose is not to serve as a boundary 417
marker but to keep own livestock in and other livestock
out. Fences, therefore, are intended to be sturdy and are
made of wooden palings or of chicken wire. Some of those
close to the main road, which serve decorative as well as
protective purposes, are ornamented by shrubbery. Houses 351
along the main road have a preferred position, providing 361
ease of access, the opportunity for display, and convenience [554]
in monitoring the comings and goings of others. Houses [487]
further back are reached by narrow trails along which one
must pick one's way with care, or by wider unpaved paths
that soon become muddy bogs when it rains.

342 Main houses are of various styles, with three basic
types that range from traditional to modern according to
the material used in construction. First, there is the
oval or rectangular single-roomed house that is walled and
thatched with mats of plaited coconut-leaf, ranging in size
from about 10 x 15 feet to more than five times that large.
Next, there are houses made of wood, raised up to three
feet off the ground on wooden or concrete stilts, and none
smaller than about 20 x 20 feet. And finally there are
houses made of concrete blocks, the largest and most modern
of all. All concrete houses and most wooden houses are
roofed with sheets of corrugated iron. Many have a roof
gutter leading to a large drum in which rainwater is stored.
312 Only three houses in Motulahi have an indoor toilet and
514 bathroom with running water. Two of these belong to two
555
177 of the richest men in the village; the third is the
618 otherwise traditional-style house of the U.S. Peace-Corps
worker who teaches at one of the local schools. Besides
these houses, there are a few that have water from an
outside tap on the 'api. People who do not have piped
water make use of their neighbors' taps or the few public
taps in the village. There are also shallow wells on a
number of 'api. (Well water is used for laundry and other
cleaning purposes but is recognized as being not safe to
373 drink.) A number of houses have electricity, used mainly
for lighting, but most people make do with a kerosene
lantern or a Coleman lamp.

000lantern or a Coleman lamp.

361 In addition to town allotments, the residential
[368] sector of the village includes three churches, a government-
[312] owned concrete water tank for collecting rainwater, and a
malae or 'village green'. The malae is the large open
[366] space between the noble's house and the main road. Except
[368] for the churches, the only non-residential structures in
[743] the village are six privately-owned shops (each set on a
corner of the owner's 'api), four privately-owned sheds,
and an open-sided thatched structure at the side of the
malae, which serves as a Baby Clinic when the visiting
[871] nurse makes her bi-weekly visit. Motulahi is also served
[764] by four schools and three burial sites or cemetries, all
[368] of which lie adjacent to or near the boundary of the
[366] residential sector. In its lack of offices or coffee-shops,
[368] Motulahi is typical of Tongan villages. The many churches
and nearby schools are also typical.

History of Settlement at Motulahi

128 The following data, which portray the history of
121 settlement at Motulahi, serve to flesh out the national statistics relating to processes of migration to Tongatapu. These materials also indicate something of the operation of the system of land tenure and particularly how operation of the system is an integral part of the relationship between the tofia owner and the people of his village.

361 Motulahi forms a major part of the tofia associated
[565] with the noble title Haveatungua, one of the most ancient
and high-ranking titles in the land. Since the village is
favorably located in the middle part of Tongatapu, where
the distance between the lagoon shore and the sea coast
is at its narrowest, it is probable that the area has been
[172] settled since quite ancient times. Burial sites excavated
in the neighborhood of the village have yielded a Carbon-14
determination of 700 +/-200 years before 1950 (Davidson
1969).

175 A settlement at Motulahi is mentioned by the early
361 Christian missionaries who were in Tonga at the end of the
[797] eighteenth century. Then there is little mention of
175 Motulahi in nineteenth century missionary writings. During
361
669 the civil war, Motulahi was overshadowed by the nearby
settlement of Kolotau, which was one of the centers of
rebel activity during the final period of the civil war and
was the last stronghold to be subdued by Tāufa'āhau.
According to several people whose families have been longest
at Motulahi, the people of the area who favored the rebels
lived in the fortress of Kolotau during the fighting. It
is not clear who these people were, although the names of
175 some of their leaders are known. None of the families that
361 have been longest in Motulahi have any tradition of
565
residence at Motulahi before the civil war, and the seat of

175 the Haveatungua is traditionally linked with the island of 361 [565] Tungua, which is part of the noble's estate in Ha'apai. Thus it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the present settlement of the village can be said to have begun.

Shortly before the turn of the century, according to 361 621 both Fatafehi and Hūfangalupe, two old people (a man and a [115] woman, not related) who were living in Motulahi at that time and who are reputed to manatu lelei (remember well), the village comprised a total of fewer than ten households. Today, out of a total of 145 households, 75 households in the village are headed by descendants of those few households. [115] There were still only ten households in Motulahi in 1919, according to Pulotu, a third informant, who had moved to Motulahi in that year as a newly-married young man seeking land. It is not clear how many people this included, as households were reckoned by each of the three informants mainly by reference to the names of the heads of the households. However, the three lists of names are in substantial agreement if we allow for certain [127] accountable changes between 1900 and 1919. Twelve years later, in 1931, according to a police census taken that year (Wood 1932), there were 159 people living in Motulahi. This probably means no fewer than fifteen nor more than thirty households in 1931.

361 At the time of the census of 1956, however, there
621 were 147 households, and Motulahi was then one of only
three villages in the whole of Tonga with a population of
more than one thousand. This growth is remarkable, notwithstanding
the overall growth of Tonga's population
during the same period and the general movement to
Tongatapu, for these are but a fraction of the rate of
increase in Motulahi.

622 The growth of Motulahi's population can be accounted
621 for in large part by reference to the policies and
practices of Sione Fatu, who was Haveatungua from 1916 to
1962. Sione Fatu succeeded his father at about the age of
[597] sixteen. His three younger brothers were adopted by his
[484] father's sister and lived with her in Vava'u and Nuku'alofa,
but Sione Fatu was sent abroad to be educated at a grammar
[605] school in Australia. During that period and for some years
after that he was represented in Motulahi by Finau, who was
the son of one of his father's sisters. (It was Finau who
gave Pulotu permission to settle in Motulahi in 1919). It
is not clear for how long Finau was in charge of Motulahi
nor the nature and extent of his authority. Some informants
speak more of the power of the petty chief Paluvalevale.
It is said that Paluvalevale gave some people permission to
farm on his land until they were granted land of their own,
whereas Finau acted only as an agent for the noble.

While it was not until the early 1940s that Sione

621 622 Fatu himself came to live in Motulahi, it is clear that for some time before that he took a considerable interest in the village, actively encouraging the growth of the 621 622 423 425 village population. This was done mainly in the traditional chiefly manner, by alloting relatively desirable portions of land to selected individuals who were thereby enabled to support large households and be assured that their descendants would have access to land (Decktor Korn 1976). Among the men recruited by Sione Fatu in this way were a famous dancer, a promising young teacher, and an able [565] carpenter. It must be understood that the noble did not go about openly offering land to men who were not already 'his' people, for this would entail naked competition among the nobles. Yet , if a promising man should marry the daughter of a Motulahi family, for example, land was readily available to the new son-in-law. More simply, land could easily be made available to a relative of the noble, however distant, even if he was not already from Motulahi. And land was certainly available to those who came seeking an allotment, if the noble wished to have them on his estate.

621 622 166 There was considerable migration from the noble's island of Tungua in Ha'apai to his village of Motulahi in Tongatapu. This movement, in particular, reflects Sione Fatu's policies. I was told that in the 'thirties and 'forties he had told his people in Tungua that he had

621 land a-plenty to give out in Tongatapu, whereas the growth
622 of population was rapidly reducing the amount of land that
166 would be available in the future for new allotments in
161 Tungua. And, indeed, today there is a severe shortage of
162 land on Tungua, as there is on other islands in Ha'apai.
According to the census of 1966, the island of Tungua
had a population of 444 with a land area of less than three-
161 quarters of a square mile. The following is a report on
162 the land-holding situation on Tungua in January 1970,
423 written by a social anthropologist who conducted fieldwork
on Tungua in 1969-70:

> There are 90 bush allotments . . . on the island covering an area of some 240½ acres. They range in size from 1½ to 8¼, only one being this last area . . . The average mean size is 2.6 acres . . . over one half are three acres or less. Preliminary figures on landholding reveal that there are 14 out of 57 (or 24.3%) households without registered land (that is, without legal title to land and therefore no security of tenure); in addition to the 14 heads of household without such title there are 33 sons over 18 in the same situation (Garth Rogers, personal communication).

621 In encouraging his people to move to Tongatapu, Sione
622 Fatu also pointed out that with increasing modernization
166 and especially the drive for education, Tongatapu would
inevitably become the center for development and that people
would be well-advised to move to the main island ahead of
[873] the waves of migration that were bound to occur. Sione
[658] Fatu's foresight regarding national trends is also reflected
[425] in the fact that in the mid-'forties he made available about

621 250 acres of his estate at Motulahi to provide a new site
622 for Tonga College, the government boarding school of
166 secondary education. He was recompensed with a 200-acre
[873] estate from government land at Vaikeli, originally part of
[658] a government estate immediately to the west of his own,
[425] while the people of Motulahi gained a major educational
institution at their doorstep. (This has proved to be an
additional advantage and source of attraction for residence
at Motulahi.) Thus, among the 145 households in the
village in 1970, we find 44 households headed by those who
[871] moved to Motulahi in the 'thirties and 'forties. It was
explained to me that the families had come to Tongatapu so
that the children could attend the better schools on the
main island, and that they had settled at Motulahi because
the noble had made it easy for them to do so.

The impact of Sione Fatu's encouraging settlement at Motulahi a generation ago (i.e., around 1940) is apparent when we distinguish among adults living in Motulahi in 1970 according to the criterion of whether they were raised in Motulahi or were already adult when they first came to live in the village. (In speaking of adults, my reference is to persons aged twenty and over.) Table 4 shows that over 70% of those who were no longer children when Sione Fatu's policies came into effect grew up somewhere other than Motulahi and were already adult when they first came to live in the village. In contrast to these people, more

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 80]

TABLE 4

Initial Residence in Motulahi of Resident Adults, by Age in 1970

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166
162

	20-29 (N=176) %	30-49 (N=223) %	50+ (N=95) %	Total (N=494) %
Local-born or immigrant before age 20	66	53	28	53
Immigrant as an adult (age 20+)	34	47	72	47
	100	100	100	100

Source: fieldwork survey.

Note: Those born in Motulahi and those who came as children are not distinguished, since in many cases there is a temporary shift of residence at childbirth, and thus children may be born somewhere other than where they are raised. (See Chapter IV).

[844]
[591]

621 622 166 than half of those who were children at that time grew up in Motulahi.

621 The influence of Sione Patu on the pattern of
622 settlement at Motulahi is also evident when we distinguish
166 among the heads of household in 1970 on the basis of how
592 591 it is that they first came to be living in the village. (I speak of when a person 'first came to live' in a village because people seldom maintain unbroken residence in the same village.) Table 5 provides a breakdown of the male and female heads of household according to this criterion.[3] The following are mutually exclusive categories that distinguish how it is that people first came to be living in Motulahi: descended from families that were already in the village before 1900; kin to the noble, who first came to Motulahi (or are descended from people who first came) in Sione Patu's time (i.e., 1900 to 1962); people who are not kin to the noble, who first came to Motulahi (or are descended from people who first came) in Sione Patu's time; first came after 1960; married in (i.e., married someone already living in Motulahi or who was already associated with Motulahi through kinship with the noble).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE]

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[3] A woman is the female head of the household in which her husband is the head. In effect, they are joint heads, but usually the man is spoken of as being the head because allotment registration is in his name and because his sphere of authority includes the formal representation of the household in the outside world. If there is no husband present, however, the woman is spoken of and may also legally be the head of the household.

TABLE 5

Circumstances of Initial Residence in Motulahi of Heads of Households in 1970

Female Head of the Household	Male Head of the Household						Total Households
	Before 1900	1900 to 1962 Noble's kin	1900 to 1962 Not kin	Since 1960	Married in	No male head	
Descended from families established in Motulahi before 1900	-	-	12	-	11	1	24
Kin to the noble - family first came in Sione Fatu's time (i.e., 1900-1962)	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Not kin to the noble - family first came in Sione Fatu's time	6	-	15	-	3	1	25
First came after 1960	-	-	-	8	-	2	10
Married in to Motulahi	44	8	27	-	-	-	79
No female head of h/hold	1	1	3	-	-	-	5
Total Households	51	9	57	8	16	4	145

Source: fieldwork survey.

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621 Seventy-eight of the households in Motulahi in 1970 (54%)
622 had a male and/or female head who had first come to
166 Motulahi in Sione Fatu's time. There were only ten house-
591
592 holds in 1970 in which neither the male nor the female head of the household had lived in Motulahi in the period that Sione Fatu was the noble (and of these households, four were established by church ministers or teachers, appointed to work in Motulahi by outside agencies).

622 Sione Fatu is generally regarded as having been not only a far-seeing progressive but also benevolent in his
659 policies. A number of people told me of his benevolence
423 with specific reference to the following circumstances: Motulahi was surveyed in 1961 (part of the first official Cadastral Survey ever undertaken in Tonga) and allotment boundaries were defined. Until the survey, not many people in Tonga had registered their residential and agricultural
622 allotments. Sione Fatu, however, encouraged people to
659 register their allotments as soon as they had been surveyed.
423
[565] This was perceived by the people who told me of it as a
[425] generous concern for their security, for once an allotment
[428] is registered it is beyond the power of the noble to withdraw it from the allotment-holder or withold it from
[425] his rightful heirs. His encouraging registration is regarded as doubly generous because, when he had allotted land in earlier years, he had in many cases given men considerably more than the statutory agricultural allotment

622 of 8¼ acres. In consequence, there had been land available
423 for these men's sons when they grew up, without the
659 necessity of requesting land from the noble. These allot-
425 ments were also registered, and thus Sione Patu was
perceived as a generous noble who gave land freely to those
who needed it.

622
621 Sione Patu died in 1962, leaving no children. He was
succeeded by his brother, Havea Veikune, who is the present
noble of Motulahi. In contrast to the growth of village
population during the period that Sione Patu was the noble,
there has been little growth of village population since
162 the succession of Havea Veikune. In the report on the
161 national census of 1956, the population of Motulahi
621 numbered 1,093, compared with 1,122 in the census of 1966
and a total of 1,192 in my census of the village in 1970
(see Table 6). Thus, in the years between 1956 and 1970,
the population of Motulahi increased by less than 10%,
whereas the national population increased by 50% during the
same period. It should also be noted that if birth and
death rates were the same in Motulahi as they were in the
rest of the nation (and there is no reason to believe that
they were significantly different), then for the Motulahi
population figure to have remained fairly constant, there
must have been a net outflow of population from the village.

621 The people of Motulahi account for the standstill in
622 village population figures by contrasting the policies and
423

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 85]

TABLE 6

Comparison of Population Growth in Motulahi with the National Rate of Growth

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Year of enumeration	Population enumerated in Motulahi	Percentage increase since the preceding enumeration	
		Motulahi	National
1931	159		
1956	1,093	587	97
1966	1,122	3	36
1970	1,192	6	13

Sources: 1931 - Wood (1932).
1956 - Tupouniua (1958)
1966 - Piefia (1968)
1970 - fieldwork survey; Report of the Department of Justice for 1970.

621 practices of Havea Veikune with those of Sione Fatu. The
622 two are contrasted most particularly with reference to
423 their responses to requests for land. For example, people point to the fact that, while Havea Veikune has approved the transmission of allotments through inheritance, which he is required to do, he has not granted a single new agricultural allotment. They speak sharply of the fact that, out of a total of 173 *'api 'uta* (8¼-acre agricultural allotments) that have been marked out on the estate at Motulahi, there were still at least ten *'api* that had not been allocated by 1970 and which remained at the noble's disposal. This land is in addition to the 200 acres at Vaikeli, which is regarded as his *'api faka-tofia*, or noble's allotment, not subject to division into 8¼-acre allotments. None of the people of Motulahi with whom I discussed these matters expressed objection to Vaikeli being the noble's *'api faka-tofia*, but they spoke bitterly and disparagingly of his holding on to the unallocated *'api*. It is believed that he has no intention of making a legal allocation of this land, despite the appeals of landless people living in the village, and this is deeply resented.

621 The apparent contrast between Sione Fatu and Havea
622 Veikune is particularly interesting because it reveals some of the local-level adaptations of the system of land tenure under pressure of increasing population. It should be noted, first, that the standstill in the size of the village

621 population cannot be attributed simply to a 'benevolent'
622 noble being succeeded by one who is not so described. Sione Fatu was the noble until just four years before the census of 1966, and thus the net standstill in the 1956-66 population cannot be attributed solely to Havea Veikune's lack of generosity in dealing with people's requests for land. Furthermore, 30% of the total adult population of Motulahi in 1970 only came to live in the village after Havea Veikune succeeded to the title (and fewer than half of these people married in or were appointed to live in
[425] Motulahi by outside agencies). Finally, while none of the men who first came to Motulahi since Havea Veikune took on the noble title has received an agricultural allotment in Motulahi, the fact is that Sione Fatu granted only four new allotments after 1950 and not everyone who came before then was successful in obtaining land.

621 In most cases, people who were not successful in
622 obtaining land from Sione Fatu must have left the village,
423 since in those days there was more land available elsewhere
425 than there is now. Nevertheless, I know of at least one household of people who have lived in Motulahi for more than twenty years who speak bitterly and resentfully of Sione Fatu not acceeding to their requests for land. When the husband and wife came to Motulahi as a young couple in the early 'forties, they first lived in the household of the wife's younger brother. In 1946 Sione Fatu gave them

621 622 423 425 their present residential allotment, which is where they and their children have been living ever since. However, despite repeated appeals and the customary gifts of pigs and kava, Sione Fatu always deferred fulfillment of the man's request for land, while never making an outright refusal. (These people also told me of another man who had come to live in Motulahi in the 'forties, seeking land, but who left the village after giving many pigs but receiving no land.) There are now two adult sons in the family, but there have been no further requests for land since the boys came of age to be eligible for an allotment, for it is regarded as hopeless to expect land from Havea Veikune if there was none forthcoming from Sione Fatu. Since they first came to Motulahi the family has been sharing the agricultural allotment of the wife's brother, and that allotment of land now supports a total of more than twenty people.

Thus, it is not only Havea Veikune who has withheld the allocation of agricultural allotments. However, almost up to the year of Sione Fatu's death, young men received their allotments from the land that had been allocated to their fathers many years previously. These allotments are regarded as having been granted by Sione Fatu, for the formal approval of the noble was required before the land could be registered in the young man's name, even though in effect that land had not been under the noble's control for

621 many years. Thus, it was not until that generation of
622 young men had already received their allotments, which was
423 after Havea Veikune became the noble, that there has been
425 general awareness in Motulahi of curtailment in the allocation of agricultural land.

However, the fact is that there has been almost no new allocation of agricultural land in Motulahi since about 1950. As I understand this, it is not a matter of miserliness or generosity on the part of one noble titleholder or another, but rather that in the 'thirties and 'forties there had been plenty of land available for allocation in Motulahi and that eventually this was no longer the case. Owing to the policies of Sione Fatu, large numbers of
621 people were attracted to settle in Motulahi. By the early
423 nineteen-fifties the village reached the point of population density and shortage of agricultural land that has been generally characteristic of Ha'apai since about the same time, but which only later began to occur elsewhere in Tongatapu. It is this, I would argue, that accounts for the fact that the population of Motulahi has been at a relative standstill since 1956, while the population at most other places in Tongatapu continued to expand. In other words, what would have been excess population in Motulahi has been absorbed in other areas that have not yet reached Motulahi's point of population density and

621 shortage of land.

423 The conclusion to be drawn from this is that contemporary practices in Motulahi in relation to the organization of access to land may be indicative of what will be seen elsewhere on Tongatapu as the shortage of land becomes more widespread. On the other hand, the Motulahi experience of peaceable adaptation to land shortage does not necessarily indicate what may eventually happen once there is acute land shortage throughout the country and nowhere to drain off the excess population.

The Demography of Motulahi

128 Before proceeding to examination of contemporary social organization in Motulahi, something should be said about the demographic characteristics of the population. Immediately, one confronts the fact of population movement and the difficulty of making a summary statement of who the
125 people of any village in Tonga are. My demographic survey of the village was part of a detailed house-to-house survey conducted intermitently, beginning early in January 1970 and continuing at intervals until about the middle of
125 May. By the end of that period, some of the people who
166 were enumerated earlier in the survey were no longer living in Motulahi or were still in the village but living in some other household, while others came to live in Motulahi only after I had already surveyed the household in which they

125 lived. Demographers commonly deal with these fluctuations
166 by arbitrarily fixing on a particular date and enumerating
the population present at that date. This suits their
purpose of enumeration, but it is an intolerably arbitrary
solution to the problem of ethnographic description (Colson
121 1954, Carroll 1975). In considering how to deal with this,
621 I realized that population flux is not a difficulty that
gets in the way of perceiving the demographic characteristics
of the village but, instead, is a vital element of
[128] proper description of local organization in Tonga. This
view is expanded and explored in the next chapter, in the
621 analysis of household composition. For the present purpose
125 of presenting a demographic profile of the village, I am
taking the population of Motulahi to be the sum of the
people who were enumerated in the course of the house-to-house
survey. People not living in a household at the time
it was surveyed are not included here; to include them
would inflate the population total and distort the age-sex
proportions, since young adults are more mobile residentially
than other sectors of the population.

162 According to this enumeration, Motulahi had 1,192
621 inhabitants in the early part of 1970, of whom 617 were
male and 575 were female (see Table 7). A percentage
breakdown of village population according to ten-year age
categories indicates that more than half the population

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 92]

TABLE 7

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Population of Motulahi 1970, Enumerated by Sex and Age and Compared with the National Population (1966)

Age Category	Motulahi				National
	Number			% (N=1192)	% (N=77,429)
	Males	Females	Total		
0-9	202	168	370	31.0	33.4
10-19	183	147	330	27.7	22.9
20-29	81	93	174	14.6	15.1
30-39	53	65	118	10.0	11.2
40-49	54	51	105	8.8	7.8
50-59	23	23	46	3.9	4.6
60-69	12	15	27	2.3	3.0
70-79	8	6	14	1.2	1.2
80-89	-	4	4	0.3	0.5
90+	1	2	3	0.3	0.1
Unknown	-	-	-	-	0.2
TOTAL	617	575	1192	100.1	100.0

Sources: fieldwork survey; Piefia 1968: 50-52.

162 621 was under the age of twenty and over 90% were under the age of fifty. This is similar to the age distribution within the national population at the time of the census
[166] [871] of 1966. However, there was a higher percentage of persons in the 10-19 year-old group in Motulahi than in the nation at large, and this might be accounted for by the fact that it is fairly common for youngsters from the outer islands to be sent to live with family on Tongatapu so that they can attend the better schools on the main island.

The distinction between persons under or above the age of twenty is significant because in speaking of Tongan adults I refer to persons aged twenty and over. The official report on the national census speaks of adults as
[871] persons aged fifteen and over (Fiefia 1968). This is related to the fact that education is not compulsory beyond the age of fourteen. However, my view is that it is not productive to classify the fifteen-to-nineteen year-old age-category as adult. The reason for this is that there are certain important differences between 15-19 year-olds and 20-24 year-olds, that are apparent not only at the
162 621 877 national level but also in Motulahi (see Table 8). Those in the younger age-category, generally, are still students, even though schooling is not compulsory for them, whereas few persons over the age of nineteen are still in school.
[873] [874] (Persons still in school after the age of nineteen are those who have stayed on in high school to prepare for

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 94]

TABLE 8

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Significant Differences between 15-19 year olds and 20-24 year olds, Nationally and in Motulahi

Criterion	National census, 1966		Motulahi 1970			
	15-19 (N=7,825) %	20-24 (N=6,219) %	15-19 (N=147) No.	%	20-24 (N=103) No.	%
Persons who are still students	77.1	7.4	116	78.9	18	17.5
Married persons	4.1	33.0	2	1.4	33	32.0

Sources: Fiefia 1968; fieldwork survey.

162 university-entrance exams, or are those attending the
621 Tongan Teachers' Training College.) On the other hand,
[877] as Table 9 indicates, very few Tongans are married before
[873] the age of twenty, though most are married by the time
[874] [582] they are thirty (women usually in their early twenties and
men a few years later).

162 Age at marriage among the population of Motulahi
621 parallels the national picture: all but two of those under
582 age twenty were never married. (In what follows
in later chapters, these two are classed as adults for purposes of enumeration.) However, beyond determining who has never been married--which is a matter of fairly reliable public knowledge--describing the marital status of the population is difficult for the ethnographer. One can easily tell whether a man and woman are living together, but one cannot as readily know whether or not they are legally married. On the other hand, if a married couple is living apart--which they may be doing for a number of reasons (see next chapter)--one cannot rely on the veracity of what one is told about the status of the marriage.
[128] A detailed analysis of marital status, therefore, cannot
[592] be given. In the course of investigating household
organization, however, I learned that it may be crucial
whether or not there is a co-resident 'spouse', regardless
[592] of the legal status of the union. Accordingly, Table 10
differentiates among the adults of Motulahi according to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 97]

TABLE 9

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Marital Situation of People in Motulahi (1970), Compared with the National Population (1966)

	Age Category							
	15-19		20-29		30-49		50+	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Motulahi								
Number in age category	79	68	81	93	107	115	44	50
Percentage who have never married	99	99	61	46	11	10	-	6
National								
Percentage who have never married	99	93	62	41	13	10	6	5

Sources: fieldwork survey; Fiefia 1968.

TABLE 10

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Marital-cum-Residential Status of Adults in Motulahi, 1970

Status	Age Categories					
	20-29		30-49		50+	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Living as a couple	60	34	172	77	68	72
Never married	92	52	23	10	3	3
Others	24	14	27	12	23	24
TOTAL	176	100	222	99	94	99

Source: fieldwork survey.

162 their 'marital'-residential status (i.e., whether they are
621 582 living in a couple relationship).

592 The difficulty of describing marital status is simple
162 compared to the problem of describing residential movement.
621 591 Tongans are as likely as not to have been raised somewhere
166 other than the village where they are born, are likely to have moved back and forth among different villages, and may speak of themselves as not really being of or from the village in which they have maintained residence for many years. It is therefore difficult to select ethnographically meaningful categories for differentiating among the people of Motulahi with regard to their places of origin or
[128] length of residence in Motulahi. As we see in the next chapter, the elements that make such enumeration difficult are best understood in the context of the organization of household composition.

Summary

621 Materials presented in this chapter show that the observed configuration of any one village reflects its geographical position and the influence of local personalities as well as the effects of supralocal and historical processes. This local configuration, in turn, constitutes much of the setting within which people who live in the
[128] village must operate. Elements of local organization and the local-level adaptations of the people of Motulahi are

621 the focus of the next three chapters. It should be noted
128 that, while these chapters are based primarily on data from
Motulahi, they deal with processes and activities that
create the fabric of local organization throughout Tongan
society.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOUSEHOLD LEVEL OF ORGANIZATION

114 The ethnographies of Oceanic societies commonly note that the composition of a household may vary from time to [592] time. This observation is also true for Tonga. The diversity and changeable nature of the composition of household groups in Oceania have received little attention from anthropologists. These phenomena are usually mentioned in the context of studies of the local descent groups that are the typical land-holding groups in Oceania, or treated as secondary aspects of ecological adaptation. 128 A close study of household composition, however, promises to be particularly revealing of elements of decision and choice in the organization of Tongan society at the local level.[1] This chapter analyzes Tongan household structure in terms of a decision-making framework.

121 It will be argued that the observed range of variation in household composition in Motulahi is a reflection of the different ways of satisfying the material and social

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[1] The productiveness of this approach was first demonstrated by Goodenough (1956) and received further exposition in Leach (1961). Also see Buchler and Selby (1968: 49-52).

121 demands upon the persons who make up each household. The first part of the chapter describes the diversity of household types in Motulahi and the changeability of membership, delineating the problem of variability in household [128] structure. The remainder of the chapter presents the argument explaining this variability, setting out the factors that account for the diversity and changeability of households found in Motulahi.

The Problem of Variability in Household Structure

592 The English term 'household' has no direct equivalent in Tongan. The Tongan word "*'api*", meaning a tract of land with a particular kind of use, is the word that is generally used where we would use the term 'household'. The primary referent of "*'api*" is the land. However, by extension in the case of "*'api kolo*" (town allotment) it also refers to the residential-commensal group of people living on the land. This group is the foremost unit of domestic organization in Tonga.

121 It might be thought that the way to go about analyzing the domestic sphere of organization is first to give a definition of 'household' and 'family' and then proceed to examine domestic organization in accordance with these definitions. Such an approach has two deficiencies in relation to the Tongan data. First, it

121 reflects a collectivity-oriented conception of social structure in which the group is logically prior to the individual member. Second, such an approach presupposes a uniformity of group structure that is not found in the Tongan data. Instead of this approach, I propose to follow Goody's advice: "In looking at any concrete situation, one must start with the terminology and classificatory system of the actors themselves, how they describe their kin, their houses, their domestic groupings" (1972: 4).

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596 The Tongan national census distinguishes among Tongan households on the basis of the number of 'family units' in the household:

> The basic family unit consists of a man and his wife and any children they may have, and the general rule to be followed is to separate out the youngest family units within the household first, leaving the Head of the household and his wife and unmarried children (and servants, boarders and visitors) as the one remaining unit. . . . If one member of the household (other than the head) is married and is living with the spouse and any children they may have in the head's house, this family group constitutes one family unit and, provided that the remaining members of the household are unmarried, such a household will consist of two family units. In addition to these, widowed or divorced persons living with their offspring in another's house constitute a family unit. Married persons living without a spouse but with offspring in another's house similarly represent a family unit, and aged parents of either the head or his wife, who are dependent on the head, do not constitute a separate family unit (Fiefia 1968: 32).

According to this definition, households are made up of 'family units', and these consist of 'family groups' plus attached individuals (the servants, boarders, and visitors

592 referred to in the definition who remain after family
659 groups have been separated out). There are some
114 596 difficulties with the census definition, however. First,
the term 'family unit' has no Tongan equivalent and is
not a culturally meaningful category. On the other hand,
'family group' is a category in everyday use in Tonga;
the term in Tongan is '*fāmili*'. But the word "*fāmili*" has
a number of meanings besides the census report's sense of
[612] an elementary or nuclear-family grouping. Another meaning
of "*fāmili*" is the localized kin group consisting of a
number of households linked by consanguineal ties, which
is discussed in the next chapter. A third meaning is the
co-residential kin group on which the household is based,
irrespective of the number of family groups that it
comprises. Not all members of a household are necessarily
members of this third kind of *fāmili*; some family groups
or attached individuals living in the household might be
spoken of as "living in/on our *'api* but not a member of
our *fāmili*".

Another objection to the definition of 'family unit' given in the national census is that its use of the term 'family group' is not consistent. According to the census definition, a family group is a two-generation elementary or nuclear family (whether or not both parents are present), or one generation if the couple has no children.

592 659 114 596 But this criterion for enumerating family units is set aside at the end of the definition, where it says that "aged parents . . . who are dependent on the head, do not constitute a separate family unit".[2] According to this provision, a household consisting only of a man and a woman and their unmarried children, and another household consisting of this same family group plus the man's aged and dependent parents and the woman's aged and dependent parents and both the man's and the woman's unmarried siblings (i.e., a total of three family groups), would both be counted as single-family-unit households. A possible explanation for this feature of the census definition is that aged parents of the head of the household who live in the household but who are not reckoned to be head of the household would be spoken of as belonging to the head's fāmili. However, the sense of "fāmili" that is used here is not the sense that is [128] captured by the term 'family group'. In what follows, therefore, aged parents of the head of the household are treated analytically as a separate family group if they fit the other elements of the definition.

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[2] Ordinarily, people of the most senior generation in the household are the head of the household. A couple or individual of the most senior generation is/are not the head only if they are too physically infirm, materially dependent, or joined the household too recently to have the authority within the household that goes with being household head.

592 As the preceding objection would suggest, the notion
659 of 'family unit' used in the census does not provide an
114 adequate basis for discriminating among the variety of
596 Tongan households. Not surprisingly, 84 percent of all
[594] households in Tonga enumerated in the census of 1966 were
single-family-unit households, and only 3 percent had
more than two family units.[3] The fact is that there is
considerable diversity in the composition of Tongan
households that is masked by the census categories, and
some problem regarding the proper basis of differentiation.

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[3] There is a further reservation to be noted with regard to the census enumeration of households. The national census figures for 1966 show that there were 118 single-family-unit households in Motulahi out of a total of 150 households (79 percent). This proportion is fairly consistent with the national figure: 84 percent of all Tongan households were single-family-unit households. However, using the census's definition of 'family unit', my census of Motulahi in 1970 showed only 97 single-family-unit households out of a total of 145 households (67 percent). Therefore, unless we assume major changes in the composition of Motulahi households between 1966 and 1970--and there is no evidence to support this assumption--we must conclude that my data are not comparable with the corresponding data in the national census. The most likely explanation for the discrepancy between the two sets of data is that in 1966 some people may have represented their family groups as comprising independent households when in fact they were dependent members of another household. One reason for this might be that they regarded their not being independent as merely a temporary condition and therefore not a truly accurate representation of their household situation. (Such circumstances are not uncommon, as materials presented
[591] later in the chapter will show.) Another possible explanation might be that they were loath to admit to being a dependent family unit, owing to status considerations explained later in the chapter.

592 As we shall see later in the chapter, there is no
consensus on the composition of the ideal household;
instead, what is viewed as desirable varies according to
[121] the speaker's social situation. Statistical description
of household types, which has been productive for the
analysis of household structure in other societies (Fortes
1949, Leach 1961, Barnes 1971) also proved unillumina-
ting in revealing patterns of household composition in
Motulahi. The difficulty in trying to make statistical
sense of the data is not that clear types did not emerge,
but that there seemed to be too many types.

[594] Most Tongans would probably say that normally or
ordinarily a household consists of a single family group
--that is, a married couple and one or more of their
unmarried children. The majority of households do not
592 conform to this pattern, however. Among the 145 households
621 in Motulahi enumerated by me in 1970, only 52 (36 percent)
596 [594] consisted of just a single family group of one or both
parents and their unmarried children. Among the others
there were households with from one to seven family
groups, as well as non-kin households (see Table 11).
Cutting across these variations, almost half the households
in the village had one or more attached individuals (that
is, persons who are not part of one of the family groups
in the household).

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TABLE 11

Household Types in Motulahi, 1970

Number of family groups in the household	Attached individuals		Total households of this type	Average number of persons per household
	None	Present		
One family group in the household	52	41	93	6.6
Two family groups in the household	18	14	32	10.9
Three family groups in the household	3	12	15	12.9
More than three family groups in the household	1	1	2	20.0
Non-kin household	NA	NA	3	1.7
TOTAL	74	68	145	8.2

Source: fieldwork survey.

592
621 Associated with this diversity was a wide range of variation in household size. Household membership ranged from one to twenty-six persons, with no clearly modal pattern (see Figure 1). On the contrary, while more than 80 percent of the households had fewer than twelve persons, two-thirds had between five and eleven members. Again, no pattern seemed to emerge from the data except for a broad correlation between the average number of persons per household and the number of family groups in the household.

Despite the fact that almost half the households had attached individuals, a structural explanation for this eluded me. All but a few of them were closely related to the head male or head female in the household, either as parents, grandchildren, siblings, or the children of siblings, but there was no obvious pattern to these relationships (see Table 12). Some attached individuals were long-time residents of the household, others just [597] [603] short-term visitors. However, except for those grandchildren adopted by their grandparents in the informal fostering relationship known as pusi'aki (see Morton 1977) and who are regarded as members of their grandparents' family group, there is no significant difference between the dependent status of a dependent family group and those who are merely attached individuals. The only point that

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 110]

FIGURE 1

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Household Size, Motulahi, 1970

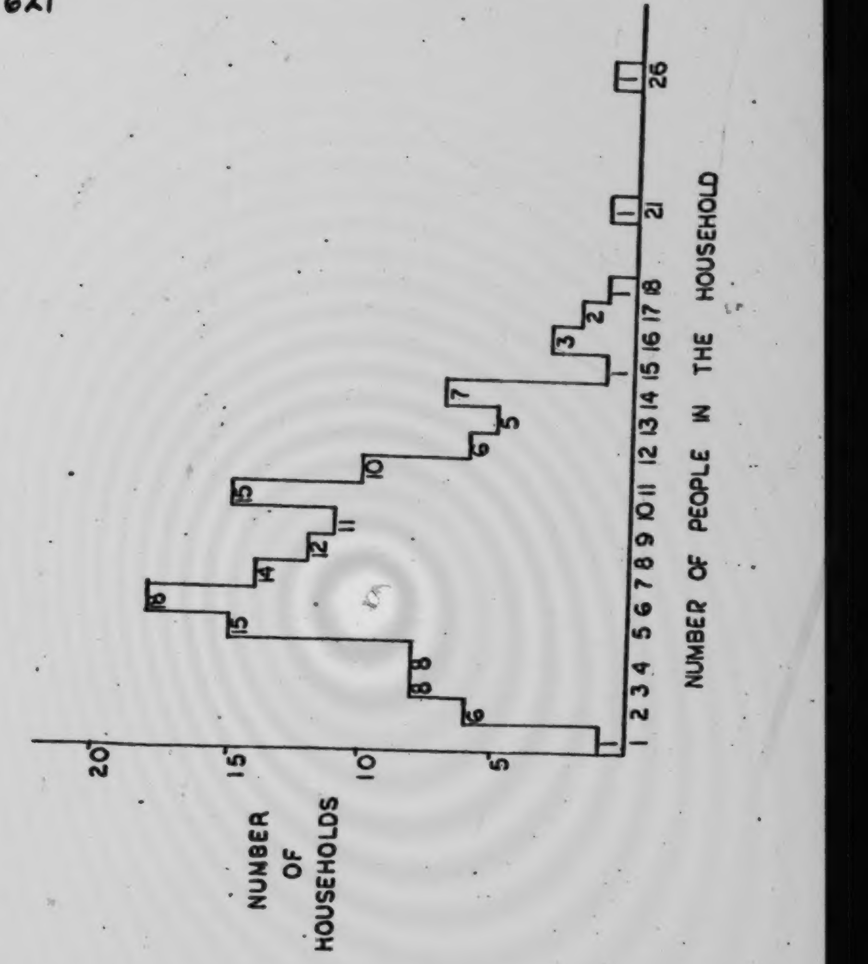

TABLE 12

Attached Individuals in Motulahi Households, 1970

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Relationship to male and/or female head/s of the household	Number of Motulahi households with attached individuals of this kind	Number of attached individuals
Husband's parent	5	5
Wife's parent	7	7
Other adult - husband's kin	9	11
Other adult - wife's kin	15	18
Child - husband's kin	18	31
Child - wife's kin	18	27
Grandchild	11	14
Non kin - adult	3	7
Non kin - child	7	9

Summary

Attached individuals	129
Households with attached individuals	68
Households with attached individuals, as a percentage of all households	47%
Average number of persons in households that have attached individuals	9.8
Average number of persons in households that do not have attached individuals	6.8

Source: fieldwork survey.

592 did emerge from examination of the material relating to
621 attached individuals was that it was the larger households
that tended to have the added membership of attached
[171] individuals. However, even this point seemed at variance with what might have been expected on the basis of comparative data from other societies, which show households lacking in members compensating by the addition of attached individuals (Goody 1972: 17-18).

592 In attempting to account for the extent of diversity
128 revealed by enumeration of Motulahi households according
596 to the culturally significant notion of family groups, I tried to analyze the data in terms of other variables. One basis for analysis was suggested by the stated norms of intra-family behavior and other patterns of respect in Tongan society, such as brother-sister avoidance, the authority of the senior male vis-a-vis junior males, and the reverence due the father's sister. However, the observed composition of multiple-family-group households did not accord with the pattern one might expect on the basis of these norms (see Table 13).[4] While the plurality of households with family groups related through the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 112]

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[602] [4] A listing of the stated norms of intra-family behavior is given in most pieces of writing on kinship in
[593] Tonga. However, as Morton shows in his dissertation (1972), there is little or no correlation between these norms and actual patterns of relationships among Tongan villagers.

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TABLE 13

Genealogical Connection between Family Groups in Households with Multiple Family Groups*

Number of family groups in the household	Family groups related through	Number of households
Two (32 households)		
	Parent(s) - Daughter	14
	Parent(s) - Son	5
	Sister - Sister	5
	Brother - Brother	2
	Brother - Sister	2
	Other kin tie	3
	Non-kin ties	1
Three (15 households)		
	Brother - Sister - Parent(s)	6
	Sister - Sister - Parent(s)	3
	Other combinations of kin	6

Source: fieldwork survey.

* The two households of more than three family units have not been tabulated owing to the complexity of the ties among the constituent family groups.

592 parent/s-daughter tie would seem to call for some expla-
128 nation, there was no obvious connection between this
596 pattern and the stated norms of intra-family behavior.

[121] The model of the developmental cycle of domestic groups--about which Buchler and Selby note: "this dynamic, diachronic point of view . . . has become implicit in most analyses of household composition" (1968: 53)--also failed to reveal clear principles of household structure in Motulahi. To be sure, the developmental cycle seemed to be a factor in the composition of some households. However, the model by itself did not account for the actual composition of Motulahi households, nor was it clear why some households seemed to follow the pattern of a developmental cycle and others did not. Furthermore, given the diversity of household composition in Motulahi, deviations from the model of the developmental cycle could not be viewed simply as residual cases. Instead, an explanation of household structure in Tonga would have to account for the observed diversity.

592 It seems to me now, that as long as I was disposed
128 to view household composition primarily in terms of role occupancy and collectivity membership, I was looking at Tongan households in the wrong way. Tongan household composition is more profitably viewed as the outcome of

592 [128] different ways of fulfilling certain demands upon the individuals and family groups that make up the household. The various ways of fulfilling these demands accounts for the diversity of household types. It is also the core of the explanation for fluctuations in composition [121] and changeability in household membership. This, it is clear, is a view of household structure which follows Leach's position that "social structures are sometimes best regarded as the statistical outcome of multiple individual choices rather than a direct reflection of jural rules" (1960: 124). Membership in the household allows the individual or family group access to resources that provide for culturally-defined essential needs. As the means for satisfying these needs or the needs themselves change, there are shifts in household membership. [591] Individuals and family groups may shift their place of residence, not only from village to village but sometimes from household to household within the village. Despite this fluidity, however, a Tongan household is an easily definable group at any one time with a fairly constant range of activities. These activities are primarily concerned with the production and consumption of food and are associated with the sharing of a common kitchen.[5]

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[5] These elements in the definition of household activities come into play in differentiating among house-

592 Tongans do not speak in terms of permanence of
484 household membership. Instead, they recognize different
574 kinds of what we would call "temporary residence". They
[602] may speak of people as being not merely visiting--they
would say this of a young relative from another island
who has come to live in the household for a few years
so that he can attend school on the main island. Or they
may say that a particular person or family group is
visiting for only a short time. Some people, and parti-
cularly young adults, come visiting 'eva pē ('just going
about'--a term also applied to taking a short stroll with
[584] no overt destination). It is in the course of 'eva pē
[626] visiting that many Tongans meet the person they marry,
for outside the home village a young woman has more freedom and a young man more license to pursue a courtship. In other cases, people may come visiting because they have some matter to attend to in Motulahi or elsewhere on Tongatapu. They might have come to be in attendance at a birth, for example, or to attend a funeral, or to accompany children to Tongatapu at the start of the school year, or to bring items for sale.

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holds in cases where more than one household occupies the same town allotment, or where one household has members living in structures spread out over more than one allotment. Even so, there are occasional cases where household membership is not clear. (See the case of Matiu, described later in the chapter.)

Visitors are easily assimilated into the household. 592 Room is found for them to lay down the mattress they bring 574 with them, and they take up the domestic chores and activities appropriate to their sex and age. Most visitors [576] bring with them a few baskets of food, as a matter of courtesy, and their relatives send occasional baskets from home if they stay on for a while. Some visits stretch into months or even years. The point at which it ceases to be only a visit is when the people involved no longer speak of it as such; when the visitors no longer feel that they might return to their previous place of residence and those with whom they are living accept this.

Whole family groups may be less than permanent 592 members of multiple-family-group households, although to 591 classify any particular family group as being only temporarily 596 part of a household could be a distortion of the data. For example, a daughter and her children might be living in the same household as her parents' family group, with the father of the daughter's children not being a member of the household. This could occur either because he is dead, because he and she are divorced, separated, or were never married, or because he must live elsewhere to earn a living on the land or in some job while his wife and children live where the children can

592 take advantage of educational opportunities. In any one
591 of these cases, the daughter and her children might remain
596 in the household for a short period, or for some years, or for always, but it is difficult to predict this for any particular case. There is similar uncertainty for the anthropologist in trying to ascertain the residential future of a married couple living in the household of one of their parents. In many cases, a couple will take up residence in a parental household until such time as they can have a household of their own. Thus, in thirty-six of the forty-nine mutiple-family households in Motulahi, at least two family groups in the household were linked by ties between parent/s and son or parent/s and daughter (see Table 13). In some of these cases, the young couple are relatively recently married. They may subsequently establish a household of their own, or they may remain living with the parents until eventually they become the heads of the household.

592 The following description of a particular household
596 in Motulahi enumerated in February 1970 illustrates the
[621] fluidity of household composition in Tonga. With three constituent family groups and twice as many members as the median in Motulahi, the household is not typical. Nevertheless, this particular household exemplifies processes of household formation and changing household

592 composition that are common in Tonga, and it therefore
596 serves well for purposes of illustration.

The oldest person in the household was Finau, the
mother of the head male of the household, Viliami (see
Figure 2). Finau's father was a Motulahi man, her mother
from another village on Tongatapu, and Finau was born in
[591] Motulahi. She married a man from another island and went
to live there with him; her sons, Sione and Viliami,
[768] were born there. Her husband died in 1917, whereupon she
moved back to Motulahi with her two sons and joined her
widowed father's household. She never remarried and,
after her father died, she became sole head of that house-
[591] hold. When her son Viliami married, he brought his wife
into what was then Finau's household. His wife, 'Ana,
[484] was born on another island. Her family moved to Tongatapu
[873] in 1930, when she was twelve, so that her older brother
could attend secondary school. They settled at Motulahi,
where her mother had kin, and 'Ana had been living there
ever since.

Viliami and 'Ana had seven children, ranging in age
from thirty-one to sixteen, all of whom were living in
Motulahi in February 1970. Only one of their children,
Tomasi, was not a member of the household at that time.
[591] Their son 'Aisea and his wife Lupe had lived at first in
Viliami and 'Ana's household following their marriage in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119]

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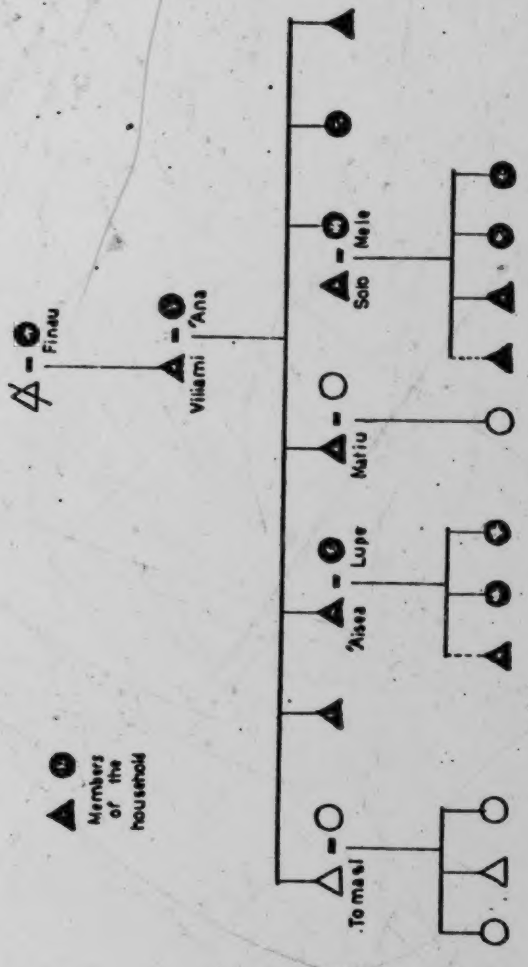
FIGURE 2

Viliami and 'Ana's Household


Finau
Viliami
'Ana
.Tomasi
'Aisea
Lupe
Matiu
Solo
Mele
Members of the household

592 1966, but in 1969 they went to live with Lupe's family
596 in another village on Tongatapu. 'Aisea quarrelled with
591 Lupe's brothers, however, and the couple moved back to
Motulahi to live with Viliami and 'Ana, bringing with
them their two children and Lupe's sister's son (whom
they had adopted in the informal fostering relationship
known as pusi'aki). In February 1970 they had been back
in Motulahi for about one month and it was indefinite
how long they would be staying in the household.

The third married couple in the household, Mele
and her husband Solo, had been living for a few years in
their own single-family-group household in Motulahi,
sharing the town allotment of her married brother Tomasi
[132] (the one who had his own household). However, about a
[342] week before I surveyed Viliami's household, a heavy
rainstorm flooded Mele and Solo out of their coconut-thatched house (as it did a number of other households in the village). The couple and their four children (including one pusi'aki adopted by Mele before she was married) moved in to her parents' household until a new house was built for them four weeks later.

Matiu, another of Viliami and 'Ana's children, had also been flooded out of his house. His wife had gone to visit her parents on another island a few weeks previously, taking with her their two-year-old daughter. Matiu

592 remained in Motulahi, living alone in his house after his
596 wife left, but taking his meals in the neighboring house-
591 hold of Tomasi, his oldest brother. When he was flooded out in the rainstorm he went to live with his parents but continued to eat at his brother's house. He moved into a newly-built house about six weeks later, at which time his wife had still not returned.

Thus, of Viliami and 'Ana's children, only three unmarried children, and possibly also the married son 'Aisea and his family, could be said to be more than temporary members of the household. However, they might all move out of the household in the normal course of events in the next few years--the unmarried children when they married, and 'Aisea and his family if he should have the means to set up his own household and should choose to do so. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to say that 'Aisea's family group was only temporarily part of Viliami and 'Ana's household, for in many households the married children do not move away to establish their own household--in fact, Viliami and 'Ana themselves are an example of this. The presence of 'Aisea and his family in Viliami and 'Ana's household exemplifies a common pattern in Tonga, notwithstanding 'Aisea's aspiration to set up his own household. And even the temporary residence of Katiu and of Mele and Solo and

592 their children is a typically Tongan adaptation, despite 596 591 its irregularity from their own point of view.[6]

Household Economics

128 The preceding section presented the problem of the diversity and changeability of household composition in Tonga. In this section we examine the economic considerations that affect household formation and changes in household composition.

592 591 One of the most important considerations in determining whether a man and wife will establish their own household is whether such a household would be economically viable. That is not to say that a household would definitely be established in such circumstances. It could certainly not be established, however, unless the household would have access to certain essential resources: cash, human capital, and local goods. In other words, while it is said to be the custom for newly-married couples to live with the parents of the husband, my argument is that it is not custom or sentiment that causes young Tongan couples to take up residence in a parental

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[6] The case of Kele and Solo offers an example of the sort of situation in which people might represent themselves to a census-taker as comprising an independent single-family household (when in fact this is not the case), because they regard their not being independent at the time of the census as a strictly temporary situation.

591 household, but economic necessity or expediency. So far
592 as household organization is concerned, what Leach wrote
171 591 about the Sinhalese could apply equally well to Tonga:

> 592 Although . . . the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the expression of social relationships, social behavior is not constrained by the prior existence of kinship corporations. It is not so much that the Sinhalese order their economic lives in accord with kinship relations as that their kinship relations are an expression of the way in which they order their economic lives (1960: 123).

592 The resources available to the Tongan household must
611 be sufficient to provide for three types of expenditures: expenditures for everyday material needs, periodic cash outlays, and contributions on ceremonial occasions.

The everyday material needs of a household on Tongatapu consist mainly of foodstuffs and fuel, plus petty cash for items such as bus fares, matches, and soap. Foodstuffs and fuel are derived mainly from locally-cultivated
262 subsistence products. A lot of tuberous vegetables are
264 eaten--about one pound per person per day. A typical everyday main meal consists of *haka* (a pot of boiled sweet-potato, manioc, yam, plantain, taro, or breadfruit--according to what is available on a seasonal or daily basis) plus a small amount of *kiki* ('relish'--i.e., some form of animal meat), or a stew (*supo*) made of the same ingredients. A modest morning or evening meal might consist only of cold leftovers or, in the morning, *tōpai* (a thick porridge of flour and water) and cocoa to drink. *Kiki* for the main

262 meal might be locally-caught fish or shellfish or canned
264 fish (imported), canned meat (usually corned beef), frozen
mutton (imported from New Zealand), or some pork or
chicken left over from a feast (for Tongans do not
slaughter their livestock to provide mere daily fare).
262 On more remote islands, people have to rely mainly on
fresh fish, which they catch themselves. On Tongatapu,
however, most kiki is purchased, and a little kiki goes
[435] a long way. A string of ten small fish, weighing about
three pounds in all, costs 50 cents; two pounds of
cartilaginous breast of mutton costs about 36 cents (these
are 1969-70 prices). Each of these amounts is sufficient
for kiki for a household of six or seven people. Other
everyday foodstuffs that are purchased include bread,
hardtack biscuits, flour, sugar, salt, tea, cocoa, and
[511] sweetened and dried condensed milk. The frequency and
amounts of such purchases varies mainly according to how
much cash is available.

592 A household must also have labor available to produce,
511 prepare, and make use of these products, hence the need for
'human capital'. This requirement is particularly evident
in the composition of one of the households in Motulahi,
where an elderly couple and their fourteen-year-old
[597] granddaughter comprised the household. I was told that
the girl had been adopted by them "ke tauhi kinaua--to

592 take care of (tauhi) them (the old couple)".

511 597 Besides expenditures for everyday material needs, a
household must have the cash for periodic outlays to pay
592 511 members' expenses such as income taxes, the annual poll
434 tax on every male over the age of fifteen, church contri-
butions, and schooling expenses for the children, as
well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing and
[454] fabric, households utensils, and other implements. Such
purchases and expenditures generally require relatively
large cash outlays that are seldom provided for through
systematic savings. Instead, members of the household
make a special effort to assemble the money shortly
[655] before it is needed. Men collect coconuts to make copra,
[432] or else sell the undried coconuts directly to the Tonga
[462] Copra Board, while women prepare handicrafts for sale
[245] to tourists (especially the tourists who flood in on the
periodic one-day stopovers of cruise ships that visit
[215] Tonga). There is noticably more copra-making activity
and also a particularly well-stocked handicrafts bazaar
in the weeks preceding a new school term, when money is
needed for books, uniforms, and school fees. Usually,
people try to make more money than is needed for the
major outlay at hand. What is left is doled out to provide
cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

592 511 476 621 Finally, a household must have the means for its

592 members to make adequate contributions of goods and labor
511 on a wide range of ceremonial occcasions that occur at
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621 irregular intervals throughout the year such as feasts, funerals, and weddings. There is a class of goods called *koloa* ('treasure') that come into play only on ceremonial
[285] occasions. These consist mainly of finely-woven mats of
[287] various kinds (*kie*, *fihu*, and *ngafingafi*) and decorated
[554] tapa-cloth (*ngatu*). *Koloa*, which is amassed through
[431] manufacture by women of the household or through previous ceremonial prestation to members of the household, is used to express status relations between giver and receiver on occasions such as weddings and funerals.[7]
[431] If one does not have *koloa*, one cannot participate in ceremonial exchanges, and not to do so is to be outside the system of rights and obligations that are the foundation of *anga faka-Tonga* ('the Tongan way'). Similarly,
592
621 to participate in the community, a household must give
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574 feasts and contribute to others' feasts. Contributions
[262] consist mainly of appropriate livestock or other foods: pigs, chickens, lobsters, tinned beef, yams, watermelon --in sum, feast food. To some extent, services such as assistance in preparing and serving the feast can be

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[7] For descriptions of ceremonial exchanges in Tonga, see Aoyagi (1966: 167-172), Beaglehole (1941: 91-98), and Collocott (1923: 221-225).

592 substituted for contributions of food. Especially close
621 friends and relatives will usually provide both goods and
476
574 services.

574 It may be useful at this point to describe what is involved in hosting a feast, for the magnitude of the undertaking must be appreciated in order to understand the significance of feasting in the organization of
[285] Tongan society at the local level. Feasts are served on pola, mats of woven coconut-leaf about eight feet long by three feet wide, at which eight to ten people can be seated. A feast is described in terms of the number of pola, which gives an indication of the number of guests, and evaluated in terms of the number and size of the pigs presented, for this is the criterion of lavishness. Most feasts in Motulahi had from two to four pola. An adequate pola at a feast in Motulahi would generally include three or four suckling pigs and about the same number of large yams and bundles of lū (a cooked food).[8]

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[648] [8] The most lavish pola that I ever saw was one of five prepared by the people of Motulahi for the national feast held on the occasion of the visit to Tonga of Queen Elizabeth of England (see Chapter VI). That pola comprised the following items, piled to a height of about twenty inches: 9 spit-roasted suckling pigs, ranged in two rows down the middle of the pola, tail to snout; 13 large pieces of pork from one big pig, cooked by steaming in an earth oven; 9 bundles of lū kapa pulu (lū is a kind of steamed food, prepared by wrapping about ½-lb. of filling, in this case tinned corned beef--kapa pulu--in taro leaves

574 These amounts reflect the relatively high standard of
511 living on Tongatapu in 1969-70; people living on the
more remote islands, with restricted sources of income,
would have less lavish pola.

592
574 households in Motulahi that could afford to sponsor a
476 feast without assistance. Yet almost every household in
[511] the village manages to host at least one feast every
[431] twelve to fifteen months. They are able to do so because
they are assisted by contributions of food and labor from
the households of a wide range of relatives and other

The 592 stands beside the first line of this paragraph: According to my estimate, there were only five

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[648] --the lū, and placing this in an outer wrapping of banana leaves and steaming it in the earth oven); 5 bundles of lū pulu māsima (lū with salt beef) and 8 bundles of other lū with assorted fillings of various seafoods; 3 large fish and 2 medium-sized fish (steamed whole in the earth oven), and 4 small fish (roasted over an open fire); 8 boiled chickens and 12 lobsters, also boiled; 23 bundles of faikakai (a steamed sweet pudding), 10 large yams and 11 large sweet potatoes, all cooked in the earth oven; and, to complete the pola, 10 drinking coconuts, 10 small dishes of various cold meats and fish, ripe plantains and bananas stuck wherever there was a gap too small to be filled with anything larger, 1½ 20-lb. watermelons cut in large serving slices, and three plates of sliced store-bought fruit cake. The only standard feast food not presented on the pola was bowls of fruit salad with icecream (omitted because the icecream would have melted before it could be served). It took eight men, each accustomed to carrying 50-lb. bunches of bananas, to carry the pola in triumph, shoulder high, to the waiting truck that would transport it to the feast site in Nuku'alofa. The pola was so magnificent that it was selected for presentation as one of five pola placed in the Royal enclosure The other pola in the Royal enclosure were prepared in the Palace kitchens.

592 574 476 [431] associates whom they have assisted in the past. This is not to say that the household is considered to be the unit that makes the contributions, for contributions are viewed as coming from individuals. The household itself is the unit in feasting activities only when a member of the household is hosting the feast. Nevertheless, when a person makes contributions to a feast at another household, he does this with goods from the common pool of resources in his own household. The greater a household's participation as a contributor through the contributions of its members, the more assistance the household will receive when it comes time for a household member to act as host.

592 511 While a household is not expected to be self-sufficient when it comes to hosting a feast, it must be able, in one way or another, to provide for the other material needs of its members (i.e., everyday material requirements, periodic cash outlays, and the means of making adequate contributions on ceremonial occasions). To do so, however, the household must have the means of access either to the products of an agricultural allotment or to the income from some job, and preferably both. Without one or the other, no household in Tonga is viable (although it is true that there is less need for cash on the more remote islands, and less likelihood of access to a job away from Tongatapu).

[434] In 1970, 42 households in Motulahi had no source of

592 cash income other than the production and preparation for
511 sale of coconuts and/or copra. In other words, almost 30
434 percent of the households in the village had no-one in the household engaged in any income-producing activity besides the basic Tongan pattern of peasant production. Sources of household income in the other households are set out
592 in Table 14. In these households there were a total of
463 54 government employees, both men and women, including 17 teachers and 5 clerks. Besides government employees, there were persons employed as laborers in various enterprises and others employed by the churches (generally as teachers in the church-run schools). In addition there were people in the village who had business enterprises of their own. Included in this were six stores in the village, two women who each kept a large flock of chickens and sold the eggs to the big stores in Nuku'alofa, there were three privately-owned sheds hired out for movies and dances or used as copra-weighing stations, two men owned trucks for hire, one man operated a dance band, a woman had a dress-making shop in Nuku'alofa, and so on. Other sources of income of people in Motulahi included the cultivation of watermelons (mainly for export to New Zealand) and the manufacture of handicrafts. Finally, the category "other activities" in Table 14 includes three fishermen, the local Town Officer (who receives a govern-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

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TABLE 14

Sources of Household Income Other Than (Or in Addition to) the Sale of Coconuts and Copra

Source of income	In relation to further sources of income			
	This is the only other source (72 households)	There is one further source (27 households)	More than one further source (4 households)	Total number of households with this source (households = 103)
Government employment	26	10	3	39
Church employment	10	8	1	19
Private employment	12	8	1	21
Watermelons	8	7	2	17
Business enterprises	2	10	2	14
Handicrafts	4	2	2	8
Remittances from kin	6	4	2	12
Income from land*	-	3	-	3
Other activities	4	2	1	7
TOTAL	72	54	14	139

Source: fieldwork survey and field notes.

* This refers to rent or a share of the crop. It does not include those cases where the loan of land is reciprocated by occasional "gift" baskets of food.

592 ment stipend), a household composed of two Mormons
463 serving their period as "missionaries" away from their home village (supported by members of the local congregation), a lawyer, and a builder.

In many cases, the income-producing activities
463 described above were not full-time occupations; a person might be engaged in more than one occupation or be engaged in different occupations at different times of the year. These elements make it difficult to classify the village
463 population in terms of occupation. This difficulty is
434 compounded by the fact that non-agricultural activities
592 were seldom the major source of household income. In most of the households in Motulahi, subsistence production and copra production were the mainstay of the household, while other income-producing activities served mainly to provide
592 a more or less regular flow of cash. On the other hand,
511 households without some source of supplementary cash
434 [342] income had a noticeably lower standard of living. Among them, for example, there was a greater proportion of the old-style coconut-thatch houses and shabby old wooden houses (probably because households without supplementary sources of income found it difficult to save the relatively large amount of cash needed to build a new wooden or brick house).

592 423 The major part of the everyday cash requirements and

592 423 other material needs of a household are provided for if the household has access to an agricultural allotment. According to my survey, people resident in Motulahi claimed control over a total of 166 allotments (see Table 15). However, this figure is not meaningful in relation to the question of providing for the everyday needs of Motulahi households. This is because it included both allotments under the effective control of Motulahi residents although they were registered in the names of people who lived elsewhere, and allotments on other islands that were registered in the names of people living in Motulahi but which were not accessible to them and were not under their control for subsistence purposes. Thus, in considering the operation of the system of land tenure at the local level, what is important for household economics is who has effective working control over an allotment. More to the point, therefore, of the 166 allotments, 93 were in Motulahi and 21 were elsewhere on Tongatapu; these could be worked on a regular basis while living in Motulahi. These allotments were controlled by people who lived in 90 households in Motulahi. There remained 55 households that did not have control over an allotment that could be farmed while living in Motulahi, of which 31 households had no allotment at all.

592 423 476 Even if no member of the household has control over an allotment that can be farmed while living in Motulahi,

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TABLE 15

Allotments to Which Access is Controlled by Residents of Motulahi, 1970

Location of the allotments	Number of allotments	Number of Motulahi households in which there is someone with control	Percentage of Motulahi households (N = 145)
Throughout Tonga	166	114	79%
On the island of Tongatapu	114	90	62%
In the village of Motulahi	93	80	55%

Source: fieldwork survey.

592 423 476 someone who has an accessible allotment may permit members of the landless household to have access to his land to grow short-term food crops and to pick coconuts (or, less commonly, to help the allotment owner raise his crops and receive a share of the harvest). In his study of land tenure and social organization in a village on Tongatapu, Nayacakalou makes the following observations regarding the sharing of land:

> Of the 27 households which have no api of their own in the village [out of a total of 106 households], 4 have api in another village, 4 others are using api the owners of which are away, and the remaining 19 share the use of the api of others (1959: 105).

He goes on to make this comment:

> When land is short and a number of families have to go without, they can usually make do by sharing the use of the api of others or by using the api of those who are away from the village. . . . Of the 19 households that share the use of the api of others in the village under study, 10 share with related households and 9 share with unrelated ones. Of the 9 that share with unrelated households, 5 have no relatives in the village (1959: 109).

592 423 [431] In Motulahi, both the allotment-holders concerned and the people who were given access to their land assured me that there was no material consideration involved in providing such access (which would be illegal). At most, they said, the allotment owner might be given a few baskets of produce as a gift, but this was not a matter of payment. Other informants, however, asserted that this was not all there was to it in some cases, and told me the details

592 of some transactions. These details have been witheld to
423 preserve the anonymity of the people involved. However,
in his excellent paper on Tongan land tenure, Maude (1971)
discusses some of the practices associated with the sharing
of land, including various forms of payment, and considers
the implications of these practices.

Through arrangements such as the sharing of land,
the subsistence requirements of the household are provided
for in cases where no member of the household has control
over an allotment that can be farmed while living in
Motulahi. Indeed, one might almost say that there must
be some such arrangement if the household is to be viable.
592 At least during the period that I was there, nobody in
432 Motulahi regularly bought the locally-produced staple
vegetables that are available for purchase in Nuku'alofa.
It would be far too expensive for most people to do so.
[554] And besides that, it is regarded as humiliating for a
Tongan to have to buy vegetable produce, for it signifies
that no-one holds them in sufficient regard to supply
them with food or to provide them with access to the means
592 of obtaining it for themselves. If the household as a
511 whole does not have some means of access to the use of an
agricultural allotment or if for some other reason members
of the household are not able to farm (reasons such as
age, infirmity, or being too occupied by other activities,

592 such as a job), then the household must be supplied by
511 relatives or have some other arrangement. There were only
[554] two households in Motulahi with varying and uncertain
arrangements for providing for the everyday material needs
of their members, and the adult members of these households were held in contempt by many of the villagers.[9]

Dynamics of Household Composition

592 When a family group does not have access to an
596 allotment, or to the subsistence foods that are the
[511] products of an allotment, it will inevitably join a family
group that does have such access, forming a multiple-family
[423] household. Thus, despite individual registration of
allotments, the organization of land tenure is much less
individualistic than a reading of the land law of 1882
would suggest.[10]

[621] Forty-nine multiple-family households were enumerated
by me in 1970--that is, one third of the households in the
592 village. Most of the family groups that comprised these
596 households would not have been economically viable as
511 independent households. In some cases, a member of one

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[9] Further details are witheld to preserve the anonymity of those concerned in these instances.

[10] For further discussion on this point, see Maude (1971) and Nayacakalou (1959). Also see my paper on the evolution of the system of political authority in Tonga and its relation to the organization of land tenure and kinship at the local level (Decktor Korn 1976).

592 596 511 of the family groups provided the household with steady cash income from a job. That family group might not have had access to an agricultural allotment, but someone in another family group in the household did have such access. Together, they provided the economic basis for a viable household. In other cases, one family group in the household might have had control over an allotment while another family group supplied the labor to work it. This was especially true in some of the three-generation households, where the land was registered in the name of someone in the senior generation and the next generation provided the labor to work it. It is in these kinds of circumstances that the 'human capital' requirement of a household is apparent. This may also be the basis of other forms of household structure (see Table 13). For example, where a widow has control over her late husband's allotment but has no adult male in her family group who could help her work the land, the result may be a multiple-family household based on the sister-sister link between family groups.

596 592 554 [885] To be male or female head of a household carries with it recognition of fully adult status.[11] Hence, for

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[11] The word "'ulu" (head or authority figure) is generally applied only to the head male, but the word "pule" (effective authority) is used in speaking of the respective roles of the male head and the female head. The division of authority between the male head and the

592 554 596 both husband and wife, being head of their own household--no matter how humble the household might be--is more prestigious and very much preferable to being lesser members in someone else's household. In short, a couple will seek to establish a household of their own as soon [421] as they are able to have a viable household. The proof of this is that in Motulahi in 1970, where there were 150 married couples and 49 multiple-family households, there were only two multiple-family households in which both the family group of the head of the household and the subordinate family group could have been viable on their own. In both of these cases, the link between the family groups was between parents and son; one of these households was headed by the noble of Motulahi and the other was headed by the man who was next highest in the village on the ranking scale of the traditional titles system, and both were among the five men who were by far the richest in the village.[12] In other words, it is possible that their

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female head is clear; it is not a matter of joint--in the sense of 'co-equal'--authority over domestic activities. Rather, each is concerned with a different set of activities and has authority with respect to those activities. Hence, where there are suitable persons to take on each role, there is both a head male and a head female in the same household. See Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1941; 20-28) for a description of domestic activities in rurul Tonga that portrays the clear although not rigid segregation between male and female activities.

[12] The other three did not have adult children, so the question of whether their sons were similarly dependent does not arise.

592 554 596 fathers' special position may account for why the sons lived in extended-family households when they could have afforded to set up house on their own. Except for these two cases, all the men in the village with the requisite access to the necessary resources described above--cash, human capital, and local goods--were heads of their own
[621] households. Thus, 74 percent of the men in Motulahi aged thirty and older were the head of their own household, and 78 percent of all the men in the village who were married and living together with their wives were heads of house-
[589] hold (see Table 16). Men who were not heads of household generally were those who were not married and therefore lacked the human capital necessary for maintaining a household and/or those who did not have an allotment of their own (which reflects the increasing shortage of land). The differences among the age groups shown in Table 16 are largely accounted for by just these two factors.

Besides the two households in which both family groups could have been independently viable, there were some multiple-family households in which one family group in the household could have been independent while the other/s would not have been viable. In such cases, it is clear why the dependent family groups were members of extended households. As for the economically self-sufficient family groups, the extension of a household is

TABLE 16

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Household Status of Men in Motulahi 1970, Classed by Age and Marital Situation

Household status and marital situation	Age 20-29 (N=82) %	 30-39 (N=53) %	 40-49 (N=54) %	 50+ (N=44) %	Total (N=233) %
Head of a household					
(a) Member of a married couple	16	49	85	73	50
(b) Not a member of a married couple	1	4	-	11	3
Not head of a household					
(a) Member of a married couple	21	19	7	6	14
(b) Not a member of a married couple	62	28	7	11	32
TOTAL	100	100	99	101	99

Source: fieldwork survey.

592 596 554 a matter of prestige, quite aside from any question of sentiment or obligation, for the larger the household (measured especially in terms of adult dependents), the greater the authority of the head of the household. This applies both within the household and carries beyond it, since--as we shall see in the next chapter--the head of a large household controls more labor for community enterprises.

The preceding materials provide the basis for an explanation of the dynamics of household formation and changes in household composition. A couple will make an effort, first, to establish a household of their own. Once they have succeeded in this, they will try to attract other people to join their household (provided they are capable of supporting dependents). Against this, however, others will be seeking to establish households of their own, and this puts a limit on any one couple's ability to attract and retain dependents.

We are now in a position to understand what lies behind the statement made earlier in the chapter that there is no consensus among Tongans on the composition of the ideal household. In talking about something that concerns them directly and personally, Tongans usually do not speak in terms of an ideal that would be generally applicable; instead, each talks about what he sees as desirable for a person in his situation. Thus, an older man may say that

592 596 554 what is ideal is a three-generation household headed by the senior members, while a young man is less likely to speak of a three-generation household as being desirable. However, both would agree that the preferred household is one in which I, the speaker, am the head.

591 592 596 If a family group is not able to be independent, an older couple or older individual generally prefers to move in with their daughter or other female relative, who is more likely to be welcoming and will take better care of them than their sons's wife would. Among younger couples who are not able to be independent, a woman prefers to be in a household with her parents or other relatives, while a man prefers to bring his family to live with his parents or other relatives. The matter is usually settled by factors other than these considerations, however; mainly, where--which island and village--they need or wish to be located, and which (if any) of the relatives there can accomodate them. Factors such as the relative availability of access to land, schooling for the children, and prospects for satisfactory social recognition (including the question of household status) affect choice of location. In other words, factors besides simple elements of kinship usually determine the location and composition of the household in which people live.

Where the preceding considerations are not decisive,

591 the choice between membership in a household with the
592 wife's or the husband's relatives primarily reflects the
596 quality of the relationships between the husband and wife and between the wife and her in-laws. According to some informants, Tongans subscribe to the ideal that a woman should agree to live with her husband's people, whether in their household or in a separate household in their village. To do so is called "fālute" ('to include or unite') and is said to be admirable; in foregoing living with her own kin, a wife is said to hold together her husband and his kin. In return, if members of the husband's family wish to make any request of him, they should do so through his wife. This shows that they toka'i her ('have respect for her and consider her feelings'). According to my informants, however, very few women are truly fālute. Most women wish to be with their own kin and try to draw their husbands in that direction, it is said, thereby breaking up the group of fraternal siblings. And this is said even of women who live with their husband's kin, away from their own people.

To live in the household of one's in-laws is a difficult situation, difficult in different ways for a man or a woman. A woman is far more involved in quotidian domestic activities than a man is. Thus, when a couple moves in with the wife's people, the husband may well feel that he has little useful place in the household--which is

591 not the case when a woman is living with her husband's
592 people. On the other hand, precisely because of the
596 greater interaction, the wife is constantly exposed to the critical gaze of her husband's relatives, and especially his mother. This is mitigated to some extent if they establish their own household rather than living in the household of his parents, but a young wife is still likely to feel very lonely if she does not have kin of her own nearby.

Most new households are established by local men; that is, the man and wife set up household in the husband's
[166] village. Less than 12 percent of the male heads of
[621] household in 1970 came to Motulahi through marriage to a local woman (see Table 5), and in 75 percent of the households in Motulahi the male head of the household had lived in the village for some time before he was married. A man generally has a better chance of being allocated an allotment where he is known and where his kin can exert pressure and assist him in acquiring land in his own name. At the very least, if they are not successful in getting him his own residential allotment, he might set up his own household on his parent's land. More important, a man's kin are more likely than his wife's kin to provide him with access to the agricultural resources essential for a household of his own.

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If a young couple does not have the means to establish and maintain a household of their own, they almost inevitably reside at first in a common household with the husband's people. At this time the young wife is under constant scrutiny and must act as demurely as possible. She is likely to go home to her parents for the birth of the first child, however, and may stay there for a few weeks or a few months, ostensibly so that her mother can help her in taking care of the baby. Usually, her husband comes with her, or is at her parents' home for part of the period, moving back and forth between his people and hers. They may move back to live with his people, but at each birth she has an excuse for moving to her parents' home, taking the children with her and going for a few months before the birth and staying for a few months after. Eventually, if they do not establish their own household, they may end up remaining with the wife's people. Many of the multiple-family-group households in Motulahi based on the parent/s-daughter tie came about in this way (see Table 13). This outcome is especially likely if the husband has no reasonable expectation of inheriting an agricultural allotment of his own. If he had such expectations, the wife might have been willing to tolerate remaining in his kin's household until they were able to establish one of their own.

Summary

128 The account given in this chapter presents a description of processes of household formation in Tonga and the dynamics of fluctuations in household membership. This description provides a frame of analysis that enables us to account for the observed composition of village households and which makes the diversity and changeability of household composition intelligible.

592 The diversity of household composition among the
people of Motulahi reflects the diversity of circumstances
faced by people in Tonga and the range of available adap-
[423] tations. Among the most pervasive of these circumstances
is the increasing shortage of land, a factor which limits
the range of residential alternatives available to the
121 individual Tongan. It has been my argument that the
592 patterning of household composition in Motulahi is to be
accounted for not as the expression of norms regarding
kinship relations, but as the outcome of different ways
of satisfying the material and social demands upon the
persons who make up each household, particularly when these
demands are considered in relation to the resources avail-
able to the people involved. This is a dynamic process;
as people's needs and resources change, they adjust their
domestic arrangements. The statistical picture at any one
time, therefore, is best understood as the cumulative

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

121 592 outcome of the adjustments people make to the circumstances in which they find themselves, given the cultural principles that shape the way in which Tongans deal with these circumstances.

CHAPTER V

LOCAL GROUPS IN OPERATION

128 The flexibility of stratagems and emphasis on individual decision-making that is characteristic of Tongan social organization has been indicated at various points in previous chapters and is especially evident in the materials that are presented in this chapter. The chapter deals with elements of optation in the organization of the three major kinds of local groups besides the household: localized kin groups, church congregations, and voluntary associations. It is particularly with regard to membership and participation in these groups that we see the principle of fa'iteliha put into operation, as people arrange and re-arrange their various affiliations.

Kin Ties at the Local Level

602 The tracing of kin ties is relevant to two different
[559] fields of action in contemporary Tongan society. One of
[128] these, where the tracing of kin ties establishes and
validates claims to high rank beyond the local level, is
me'a fakahou'eiki (pertaining to the chiefs) and beyond
[621] the scope of this dissertation. The other field of action

602 in tracing kin ties is concerned with establishing the
621 range of people with whom an individual is involved in
co-operating and participating in local-level activities.[1]
These are the kin ties that are manifested in resource
groups in the domestic sphere and at the local level--ties
to *'api* (household), *kainga* (kindred), and *fāmili* (local
descent group).

The household group or *'api*, a unit of common
592 residence and consumption in which members are usually
(although not necessarily) close kin to one another, has
612 been considered in the preceeding chapter. A second kind
of kin grouping is the *kainga*, an ego-based personal
kindred that does not include affines. One speaks of
affinally-related kin as "my spouse's *kainga*" or "my
brother's wife's *kainga*", or whatever, but not as being
one's own *kainga*. This distinction is apparent in the
following case, involving the people whose relationships
612 are depicted in Figure 3. An incestuous affair between
835 A and B was discovered. It was considered to bring shame
on C but not to reflect on D in any way. The logic
underlying this is that a person is considered to be married
only to his/her spouse, not to the spouse's kin as well.

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[1] See Decktor Korn (1974, 1976), Kaeppler (1971), and Marcus (1975a, 1975b, 1976) for accounts that focus on various aspects of the differential significance of kinship at the national level and the local level.

FIGURE 3

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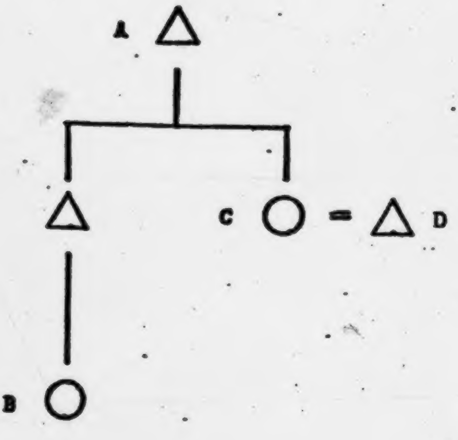
The Case of the Incestuous Relationship



612
764 From time to time, groupings based on kainga relationships come into being. The most typical of such occasions are funerals, when kainga members of persons who are closely related to the deceased come to the funeral. It should be noted that they come on account of their relationship to the bereaved, not the deceased. This was made clear to me in the following way. At one of the first funerals I attended, I noticed a group of people who were dressed in formal mourning (black clothes and large tattered mats) and carrying elaborate wreaths. I did not recognize them, and asked someone who they were. I was told that they had come "by way of (or through) hala". Since they were walking in single file along the side of the road and hala can be translated as 'path' or 'road', I was somewhat irritated by this reply. I asked again how they were related or connected to the deceased, and again I was told that they were not kin of the deceased but had come by means of hala. Eventually, it was made clear to me that the term 'hala' is used metaphorically to refer to the tracing of kinship relationships (the route or path along which the relationships are traced). All the mourners in question were close consanguineal kin of the person marked A in Figure 4. I was told that they had come to pay their respects at the funeral of B because of the half-sibling relationship between C and D. They

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 153]

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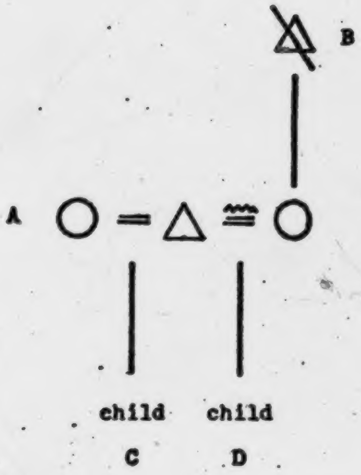
FIGURE 4

The Case of the Mourners Who Came Hala


B
A
child
C
child
D

612 764 were kainga of C, and C in turn was kainga to D. Similarly, at a funeral held on the island of 'Eua in March 1970, two women (both from Motulahi) made a joint presentation of goods. The basis for their having made a joint funeral contribution can be explained by reference to Figure 5. They themselves (M and N) were not kainga of the deceased (P), nor were they kainga to one another, but each was kainga to her grandchildren (Q1 and Q2 respectively), and the grandchildren were kainga to one another and also [602] closely related to the deceased. In short, it is not affinal ties that link people in kainga-based relationships, but ties that are reckoned to be traced through consanguineal connections.

612 621 Finally, there is the fāmili, a kin-based group that cuts across kainga connections. Membership in the kainga --if it may be called 'membership'--is simply a matter of genealogical relationships; membership in the fāmili, although founded on kin ties, is defined by participation in the activities of the fāmili. While kainga is mainly a relationship category, fāmili is an action group which supplies members' households with goods, labor, and personnel when they are needed, as well as access to land for subsistence purposes. Thus, while kainga ties transcend local boundaries (for a person's kin may be anywhere in Tonga, or elsewhere for that matter), the fāmili is essen-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 155]

FIGURE 5

612
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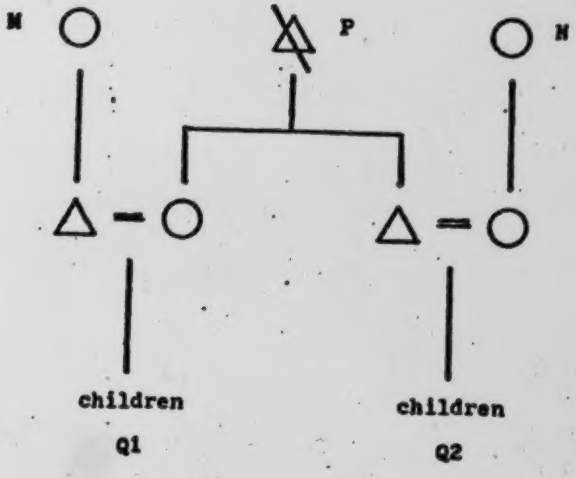
The Case of the Grandmothers' Joint Funeral Presentation


M
P
M
children
Q1
children
Q2

612 621 [602] tially a localized group, most of whose members live in the same village. Like the household unit, the *fāmili* is a group that includes affines. And finally, in contrast to the ascriptive nature of the *kainga* relationship, *fāmili* membership is one of the most important areas of optation in Tongan society.

Fāmili Membership

The *fāmili* has some structural features that make it look like a non-unilinear descent group and others that make it look like what Davenport (1959) calls a 'stem kindred'. However, the *fāmili* could also be described simply as a loose association of households linked by [593] [605] consanguineal ties among some of its members. The core or 'stem' of the membership of any one *fāmili* consists of a number of adult individuals in the village, both male and female, who are related to one another as siblings or as the descendents of siblings. The total membership of a *fāmili* includes these individuals, their children and grandchildren, the spouses of these people, and any other persons who are more than just transient members of their households. But it must be understood that the criteria of membership in the *fāmili* are not at all rigid. A person could be affiliated with any *fāmili* to which he or she is able to claim a kin tie, even if the genealogical connection

612 is not very close, provided the claim is accepted by the
621 members of the *fāmili*.

It should be noted that *fāmili* are not thought of as descent groups, even though in some cases the first head of the *fāmili*--the founding ancestor, as it were--is spoken of as *'uluaki 'i he fāmili* ('the first in the *fāmili*'). Instead, *fāmili* are thought of as informal, non-corporate associations of people linked by kin ties and based in a certain village. In some cases, the *fāmili* is known and referred to by the name of the person who is presently *'uli 'i fāmili* ('head of the *fāmili*'), sometimes also called *'ulu-motu'a* (literally, 'old head'). There is no
612 strict rule about who should be head of the *fāmili*. In
562 most cases, the person identified to/by outsiders is a male, since it is usually a man who is the representative of the group on formal occasions (such as in a kava circle during the observance of mourning). In internal affairs, however, the head could be a man or a woman, and is simply the senior member whose personal authority is such that he or she is able to issue instructions or assignments to members of the *fāmili* regarding such matters as the *fāmili*'s participation in ceremonial events (e.g., at the funeral of someone who is *kainga* to a member of the *fāmili*). In one particular *fāmili* that I know, the old man is nominally the head but it is his wife, a capable and

612 562 energetic woman whose forebears were among the early settlers in Motulahi after the civil war, who is the authority within the fāmili regarding the proper thing to do on each occasion and who mobilizes the other fāmili members. They have a son, also living in the village, a wealthy and respected man with an important position in government, whose advice is paramount in the fāmili and whose wealth helps to facilitate many of the fāmili's activities. This man, however, is not the eldest son, and he repeatedly told me that he is therefore not an authority within the fāmili and would not seek such a position but rather would always defer to his older brother (who also lives in the village). In contrast to this fāmili, in which the senior old man is at least nominally the head, there are two major fāmili in Motulahi in which it is well known and accepted throughout the village that the person in supreme authority is a woman.

612 None of the fāmili in Motulahi goes back more than six generations to a common ancestor of all the stem members, and this includes at least three living generations. Some of the fāmili consist only of the households of a group of brothers and sisters and their parents (if the old couple are alive and living in the village), a total of no more than four or five households. The fāmili of which old Pulotu is 'ulu-motu'a consists only of his

612 household and the households of each of his three sons who live in the village, four households in all. The largest fāmili in Motulahi goes back five generations to a common ancestor, and includes four living generations and more than twenty households (see Figure 6). This fāmili, however, appeared to me to be in process of fission during the period of my fieldwork--the line of fission is indicated in Figure 6. It had previously split off a generation ago from another fāmili in the village (see Figure 7). Each is now an entirely separate fāmili.

A fāmili will begin to fission when the group as a whole becomes too large, or if one section becomes markedly wealthier than another, or if for some other reason the burden of obligation among fāmili members becomes too cumbersome or unevenly distributed. Gradually, over a period of a few years, the fāmili will become segmented, through emphasis on ties within a section and relative neglect of ties to the rest of the fāmili. By the time the process is completed, there are separate fāmili for purposes of the obligations of fāmili membership, although members of the original fāmili will continue to be kainga to one another and will fulfill kainga obligations on accasions such as weddings and funerals. The fāmili depicted in Figure 6 is now in process of fission. Historical inspection reveals that

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FIGURE 6

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Core Members of the Largest Pāmili in Motulahi, 1970

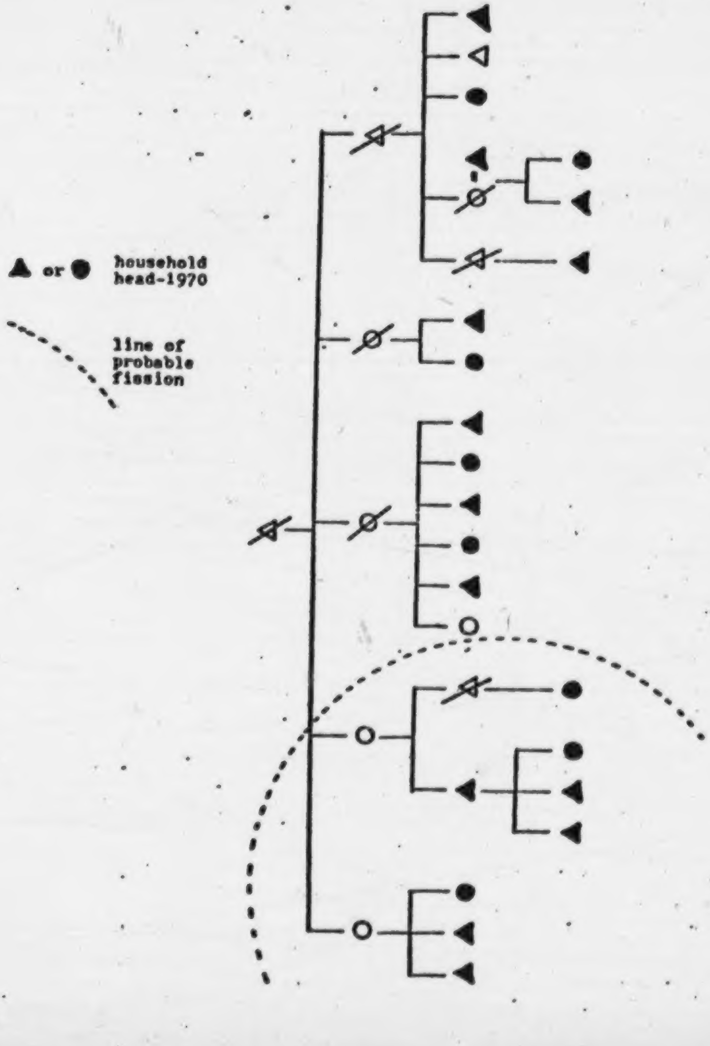
▲ or ● household head-1970
line of probable fission

FIGURE 7

612
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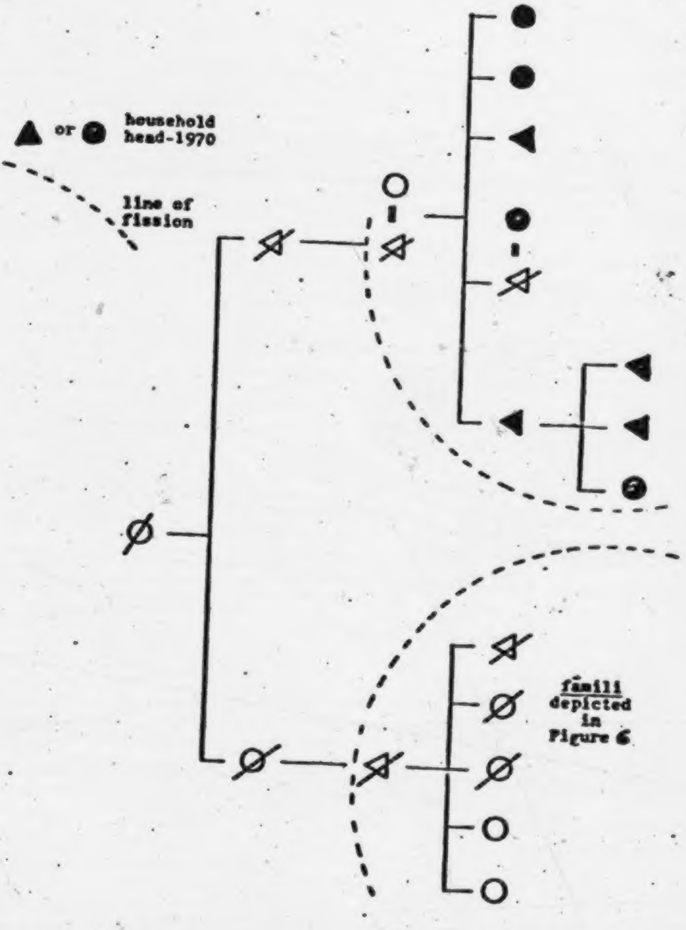
Common Ancestry of Two Fāmili in Motulahi


▲ or ● household head-1970
line of fission
fāmili depicted in Figure 6

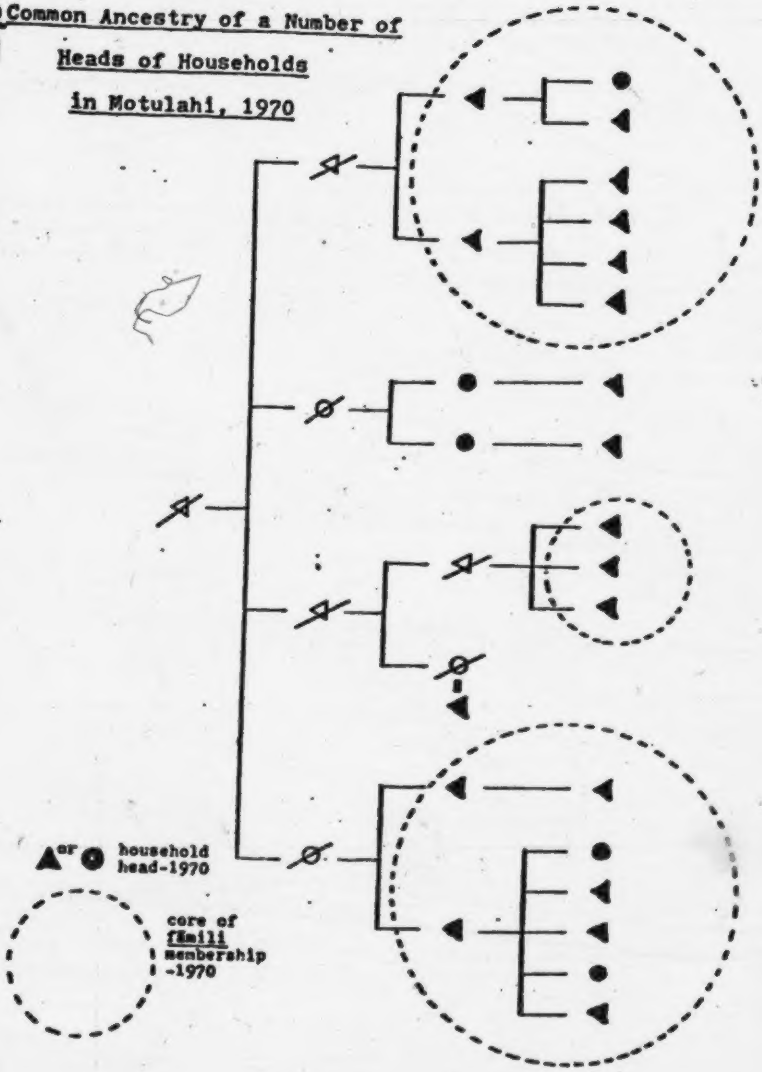
612 it had earlier split off from another *fāmili* (see Figure 7).
And besides these cases, there are other *fāmili* in Motulahi
that are connected to one another by sibling bonds between
their originating ancestors. The most extensive such case
is depicted in Figure 8.

As both Figure 8 and the two preceeding figures
indicate, the process of fission may result in the emer-
612 gence of new *fāmili* in each generation. Thus, in order
124 to understand *fāmili* structure among the people living in
any one area, there is little point in simply asking
informants how many *fāmili* there are in the village or
who belongs to which *fāmili* or even who is the head of
each *fāmili*, as if there were unequivocal answers to these
questions, for the *fāmili* is a dynamic and changeable
entity and Tongans are aware of this. At most, one could
ask the informant which *fāmili* he belongs to. However,
even this might be undergoing change, as we shall see below.

612 It must be understood that membership in what anthro-
pologists might speak of as a 'localized sibling descent
group' and membership in a *fāmili* are not the same thing.
Expressed in structural terms, there can be considerable
overlap among persons affiliated with localized non-
unilinear descent groups, whereas *fāmili* tend not to overlap
in their active membership. Thus, an individual could be
closely related consanguineally to more than one sibling

FIGURE 8

612 621 Common Ancestry of a Number of Heads of Households in Motulahi, 1970


▲ or ● household head-1970
core of fāmili membership -1970

612 descent group in his village, or he could be related to one such group and his spouse to another; nevertheless, the members of any one household probably would not be members of more than one fāmili. The reason is that fāmili membership is dependent on frequent and consistent participation in fāmili activites, and this is difficult to sustain with more than one fāmili at a time. This does not mean that a person will say that he is a member of one fāmili and not a member of another in which he might equally be a member, for there is no such thing as formal membership and therefore no need to make such a declaration. But he and his household will tend to participate in the activities of one fāmili rather than another and thereby put emphasis on their connection with that fāmili, leaving their connection with the other/s dormant.

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476 Participation in fāmili activities includes the contribution of material goods and labor on ceremonial occasions. Members of the fāmili are expected to make contributions and to participate without being asked to do so. In return, they can expect the same kind of assistance when they require it. Indeed, the fact that one does not have to ask members of the fāmili for their contributions on ceremonial occasions is an important point of contrast between people who are fāmili members and those who are merely kainga to one another, for the

612 476 [554] kainga is also a resource group. However, while it is appropriate for kainga to provide assistance (especially assistance in the form of providing access to land and other capital goods), to ask kainga for any assistance if they are not also members of one's fāmili puts one in a subordinate supplicatory position, which is not true for provision of assistance within the fāmili. Nevertheless, one would go to non-fāmili members of one's kainga to ask for something if fāmili members are not able to provide it (e.g., short-term use of land to grow watermelon or some other cash crop). Thus, the kainga is a residual source of assistance, supplementing the fāmili.

612 Besides contributions on ceremonial occasions and such major assistance as providing access to land, participation in fāmili activities and the obligations of fāmili membership involve continual informal interaction with other member-households: visiting, gossiping, working together on the land and around the house (such as doing the laundry together), and sending small gifts of food back and forth. Thus, a kinship connection is no more than a necessary condition for establishing an acceptable claim to membership in the fāmili. Membership must continually be activated by participation in the activities of the fāmili. So long as a person continues to fulfill the obligations of fāmili membership, he or she remains a

612 member. From this description, it should be clear that
[592] it is extremely burdensome materially and might well be
impossible socially, either to maintain these obligations
with more than one fāmili at a time or to have members of
the same household involved in membership of different
621 fāmili. Similarly, it is difficult to sustain the
612 obligations of fāmili membership when members of the fāmili
reside in different villages (unless they are neighboring
villages), since it would involve a lot of inconvenient
journeying back and forth. Indeed, such cases occur only
in those instances in which, for one reason or another,
there is no suitable fāmili within the village with which
the household might affiliate itself.

612 To appreciate what is involved in fāmili affiliation
being a matter of choice, it must be understood that a
person will be a member of the group within which and/or
through which he can secure his best advantage and, if
necessary, he will switch membership to do so. Switching
fāmili affiliation occurs if a person or his household
requires the long-term assistance of a different fāmili,
such as provision of access to land for subsistence
612 purposes. Switching may occur, obviously enough, if there
621 is a shift of residence from one village to another. But
a household might also gradually, over a period of many
months, shift its affiliation within the same village.

612 423 (The extent of the old and new fāmili's involvement in ceremonial activities might be a factor in deciding this, although access to land is probably the most common factor.) 612 124 Thus, the researcher is confronted with confusing data, with nameless unbounded groups and floating memberships. To study fāmili structure, on the one hand, and the range and kinds of local obligations that any one person might involved in, on the other, the investigator must watch who vists whom, and go about at feasts counting pigs and yams, and ask who brought the pigs and who is helping to cook the yams. 612 476 The data are further complicated by the fact that a person is not obliged to make contributions only to his own fāmili. The fact that a person is helping out or has made a contribution of food at the feast of someone who is not a member of his own fāmili does not necessarily signify that that person is in process of switching fāmili affiliation. He may be doing it because he is a friend of the feast-giver or a closely related kinsman or there may be some other reason relating to special circumstances of their relationship. Perhaps the helper wishes to put the feast-giver under obligation to himself, or owes him a [124] favor. / No single occasion, therefore, will tell the entire story; instead, the anthropologist (or the interested local observer) must keep track of such behavior over the course of a number of episodes and some period of time.

612 602 From these materials it is clear that an individual has considerable flexibility, not simply in the choice of fāmili affiliation, but in how he aligns himself with other people as well. These alignments bring social and economic benefits that are sustained by reciprocity of obligations. Since an individual's needs and his uses for people change through time, however, he shifts his alignments to accord with his changed circumstances. These adaptations are facilitated by the optative nature of Tongan kin ties and the informal and non-prescriptive quality of the mechanisms of co-operation and assistance at the local level. As we shall see, similar mechanisms are at work with regard to denominational affiliation.

612 114 Before proceeding, something should be said at this point about how other anthropologists have viewed the Tongan fāmili. It was first described by Aoyagi in 1966, and since then by me (in a paper presented in 1972, published 1974), by Morton, and by Marcus. Aoyagi (1966: 150-160) uses the terms 'famili' and 'famili organization' to refer to what I have identified as the kainga and fāmili, respectively, but her delineation of the nature of these groupings does not differ significantly from that given above. The emphasis in her account of 'famili organization' is on the occasions when the famili organization functions as a group. Aoyagi describes the looseness and variability

612 in membership and in members' participation in the activities
114 of the famili organization, but she makes little attempt to account for these data. Morton, in his dissertation, gives a brief description of a group that he identifies as the 'matakali'(1972: 48-51), which I take to be the fāmili.[2] Almost no detailed description is given of the structure or organization of the matakali, but Morton does note that matakali "are defined by residence and consanguinity" and that "matakali in contrast to kainga is not conceived of as egocentric, has a membership based on residence, and is viable through more than one generation" (1972: 48, 50). Marcus (1974: 90-100, 1975a 45-52, 1975b: 12-15) gives an account of 'the famili' that differs in two critical features from these others, in that his focus is on the relations and transactions (a) within a corporate group of adult siblings (b) wherever they might be resident, rather than on a local group of kin. According to Marcus,

> The Tongan famili group in the village context alone is not a sufficient unit for analysis of modern Tongan social structure. Rather, in contemporary Tonga, the famili is more typically a network of ranked, adult sibling segments and their immediate households, situated in different locations both within Tonga and abroad, and engaging in a variety of occupations. I labelled this dispersed network of continually inter-

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[2] According to Kaude (1971: 127), matakali is a word of Fijian origin that is synonymous with famili in Tongan usage. Also see Gifford (1929: 38-39) and Sahlins (1962).

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> acting sibling segments, a family estate, based on both cooperation and competition over differentially shared resources (including parcels of land, government jobs, and overseas-earned income). There is a great deal of variation in the operation of these famili networks or family estates in their degree of success in accumulating resources, in the degree of corporateness in their organization, and in the degree of their internal stratification.
>
> Both noble and commoner family estates, which have been most successful in achieving wealth and status resources in the past generation or two (and perhaps which are most corporate and most highly stratified in internal relations among siblings), are in the present context, patrons to numerous other famili networks, which, for whatever reasons, have not operated effectively as famili estates and have become their clients, dependent on the more successful family estates for material support and favors. . . . I suggest that under present conditions of land shortage and monopolization, at least a sector of Tongan society is organized through the informal patron-clientization of overlapping famili groups, while other famili groups are completely independent of this organization (1975b: 14-15).

The key to resolving the discrepancies between Marcus's account and my treatment of the fāmili is to be found earlier on in his paper:

> In the context of individual acievement and kin cooperation, a fundamental tension that arises in the internal relations of contemporary famili groups concerns the use and distribution of an individual's achieved status and wealth among his kinsmen: does he share his personal advantages in status and wealth as a group resource or does he use it as a personal resource to create ties of dependency and thus improve his position within highly stratified famili relations? (1975b: 13-14).

Marcus's emphasis is on the second alternative, while mine is on the first, and this difference in emphasis stems from our different research interests. His interest is in the elites at the national level, persons of high rank and/or

612 wealth and status, while I am interested in ordinary
114 Tongans and in social organization at the local level. The elites are more likely to be involved in kin groups with a corporate character, and ties between them and with their less successful kinsmen are likely to be supra-local and not dependent on the quotidian interaction that is the sine qua non of the localized fāmili. The fact that Marcus's account of 'the famili' is different from mine reflects the difference in our spheres of investigation, since--as we have seen in relation to the household group--Tongans use the word 'fāmili' to refer to different kinds of groups in different contexts.

Denominational Diversity

602 Relationships of kinship are the primary source of
554 economic benefits and material assistance. For prestige
[621] in the community, however, one must look beyond kinship.
[602] At the national level, status is a function of rank by birth, wealth, occupation and education. These criteria are also significant in the village, but it is the rare villager who derives especially high status from one of
[794] these sources.[3] For most adults in the village, and

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[3] There is no satisfactory account as yet of the system of status at the national level of contemporary Tongan society. Partial analyses are provided by Bott (1972), Kaeppler (1971), Marcus (1975a, 1975b, 1976), and Spillius (1959b), but it remains to be explained how the different elements make up the total system.

554 especially for men, their status is largely dependent on
794 their standing in the local church congregation and their
554 participation in congregational activities. The reason
771 this is so lies in the major emphasis on church-related
activities in the daily lives of Tongan villagers. The
Beagleholes' description of village life in the late 1930s
includes a section on 'religion' (1941: 124-135) that
clearly portrays Tongans' absorption with matters relating
to church membership and the infusion of everyday life with
elements that reflect the prominence of religion in Tongan
society, and this portrayal is still valid today.

797 Christianity has long been existent in Tonga. The
first missionaries to Tonga were sponsored by the London
Missionary Society as part of the Society's earliest
venture in the Pacific, in 1797. This mission lasted only
three years. The next mission effort, which was sponsored
by the British Wesleyan Conference, was not until 1822 and
it lasted only one year. While both these missions may be
regarded as failures, they provided both the Tongans and
the missionary groups with some experience of mission effort.
Finally, a permanent mission in Tonga was established
797 by the Wesleyans in 1826. What has been in question in
795 Tonga for more than a century has not been whether
Christianity would be accepted, but which denomination or
denominations would prevail. The Wesleyans who came in

797 1826 gained an early champion in the young warrior chief
795 Tāufa'āhau, who later became King George Tupou I. With
Tāufa'āhau's support, they managed for more than a decade
to exclude other denominations that sought to establish
a mission in Tonga. This came to an end, however, in 1842,
when the first Roman Catholic mass was celebrated on Tongan
795 soil. The next denomination to be established after that
came about through a conflict between the King of Tonga
and the Australian Wesleyan Conference. This resulted in
the founding in 1885 of the Siasi Tonga Tau'ataina (the
Free Church of Tonga). Some thirty-eight years later,
in the early 1920s, there was a further upheaval among the
Wesleyans in Tonga. One outcome of this was the founding
of a third Wesleyan denomination, the Siasi 'o Tonga
[797] ('Church of Tonga'). With the exception of the Anglican
Church, which entered the field before the end of the
nineteenth century, all the other denominations in Tonga
have been established only within the past fifty years, and
the majority have been established since World War II.[4]

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[4] Two excellent studies of relations between church and state in Tonga--by Lātūkefu (1974) and by Rutherford (1971) --encompass the history of missionization in Tonga up to the end of the nineteenth century. Between them they cover the abortive early missions, the establishment of the Wesleyan mission, the establishment of the Roman Catholic mission, and the establishment of the Free Church of Tonga. The Beagleholes give a brief account of the circumstances associated with the inception of the Church of Tonga (1941: 127). Also see Marcus (1976: 171-173).

795 In the most recently reported census, held in 1966, adherents of nineteen different denominations were enumerated (Fiefia 1968: 70). However, only seven denominations each had a membership of more than one percent of the total population, and together the members of these denominations comprised ninety-nine percent of the population. The percentage of adherents of the major denominations is set out in Table 17, showing changes in the distribution of adherents as reflected in the national census over a period of some twenty-five years.

The seven major denominations in Tonga, in the order of the size of their followings in the 1966 census, are as follows: the Free Wesleyan Church (which, until 1972, was a member of the General Conference of the Wesleyan Church in Australia and is now independent), the Roman Catholic Church, the Free Church of Tonga, the Church of Tonga, the Mormon Church (Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints), the Church of the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Anglican Church. Each of these denominations was [799] established in Tonga before World War II. With the exception of the three Wesleyan denominations, all are foreign missions in the sense that they are centrally administered in Tonga by senior personnel who are sent or appointed from abroad. The exceptions are the Free Wesleyan Church, which is internally autonomous although linked to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 175]

TABLE 17

Adherents of the Major Denominations, 1931-1966

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Denomination	Percentage of total population			
	1931	1939	1956	1966
Free Wesleyan Church	58	53.9	49.6	49.9
Roman Catholic Church	12	13.6	14.7	16.0
Free Church of Tonga	16	17.1	17.5	14.3
Church of Tonga	10	10.5	9.9	9.0
Mormon Church	4	2.9	5.1	7.1
Seventh Day Adventist		0.8	1.5	1.8
Anglican Church		0.8	0.9	1.0
All other denominations	0	0.1	0.3	0.8
Denomination unknown	0	0.3	0.5	0.1
TOTAL	100	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: 1931 - Beaglehole (1941: 126)
1939 - Tupouniua (1958: 30-31)
1956 - Tupouniua (1958: 30-31)
1966 - Fiefia (1968: 23).

795 the Australian Wesleyan Conference, and the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga, both of which are indigenous organizations with no affiliations outside Tonga.

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795 The national census figures showing the denominational distribution of the population can be somewhat misleading. There is no census breakdown of denominational affiliation among the people living in the different parts of the country, but the fact is that only the Free Wesleyan Church has a substantial proportion of adherents throughout Tonga; the other major denominations are unevenly distributed away from the main island. It is not possible for me even to begin to estimate what the distribution of denominational affiliation on the various islands might be, nor could an enumeration of the distribution in any one village be regarded as typical of the island. On the contrary, there may be considerable variation in statistical patterns of denominational affiliation between one village and the next. These variations reflect patterns of inter-village migration and random differences in fertility, as well as the effects of particular personalities and events. For example, the village of Pea on the island of Tongatapu was one of the early strongholds of Roman Catholicism and has remained a center of Catholicism to this day. Approximately half the population of this village are Roman Catholics, in contrast to the much

795 smaller proportion of Roman Catholics in the population as
162 a whole.

795 While the distribution of denominational affiliation
121 in any one village must be regarded as the outcome of
factors that are best understood in historical perspective, a description of denominational affiliation in a single village should serve to indicate what is involved in being a congregant and will therefore illuminate what it is I am talking about when I speak of Tongans' absorption with matters relating to church membership. Moreover, despite statistical variation in the distribution of denominational affiliation from one village to another, this description will indicate the local-level features of denominational multiplicity.

162 The village of Motulahi exhibits the deversity of
621 denominational affiliation that is characteristic of Tonga.
795
794 The denominational affiliation of the adult population
resident in Motulahi in the early part of 1970 is shown in Table 18. Each of the seven major denominations in Tonga had adherents in Motulahi. However, there can properly be said to be only five congregations in Motulahi (in the situation as it was in 1970), for the Anglican Church has only a single congregation on Tongatapu, based in Nuku'alofa, and the Seventh Day Adventists in Motulahi also belonged to a congregation based in Nuku'alofa (although occasionally

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 178]

TABLE 18

Denominational Affiliation of Adults Resident in Motulahi, 1970

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Denomination	Number	Percentage
Free Wesleyan Church	226	45.7
Mormon Church	92	18.6
Roman Catholic Church	70	14.2
Free Church of Tonga	56	11.3
Church of Tonga	35	7.1
Seventh Day Adventists	10	2.0
Anglican Church	3	0.6
Denomination unknown	2	0.4
	494	99.9

Source: fieldwork survey.

162 they conduct services at the home of one of their members).
621 Even if the Anglicans and Seventh Day Adventists are set
795
794 aside, congregations are more correctly described as local
groups rather than village groups. Each of the three
Wesleyan denominations has its own church in Motulahi.
(Indeed, the Free Wesleyan Church had two church sites,
since for some years it had been in process of constructing
a new building of brick to replace the existing delapidated
wooden structure.) However, only the congregation of the
Free Wesleyan Church could be said to be village-based in
the sense that all members of the congregation are village
residents, whereas not all the people who belong to the
Motulahi-based congregations of the Free Church of Tonga
and the Church of Tonga live in Motulahi. Some are
residents of the small neighboring village of Tatafa, for
their denominations do not have enough members to be able
[872] to support a congregation in Tatafa. Similarly, the Roman
Catholics of Motulahi, together with those from other
nearby villages, attend church in Nukutau (the village
immediately adjacent to Motulhai), where there is also a
Roman Catholic primary school. The Mormons, too, have a
joint congregation with neighboring villages; their church
is located on the boundary between Motulahi and Nukutau.
162 This is also the site of the church-run post-primary school
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794 that is attended by many children from the district. The
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162 Free Wesleyan Church also adminsters a post-primary school
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794 for the district and a primary school as well. Both are
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872 located in Nukutau.

794 Whatever the denomination, the local congregation is
621 the major source and focus of public activity in village
[626] life. Everyone is at least nominally an adherent of some denomination, and there are few in the village who can withstand the pressure of the expectation that they should at the very least attend church once a week. The Roman Catholic Church has no regularly-scheduled activities for the congregation beyond daily church services and three services on Sundays. Each of the other four local congregations, however, has a scheduled round of weekly activities. In the Mormon Church, there are two Sunday services for the entire congregation (see Table 19). In addition to this, on Monday evenings there is a family service (which people attend in elementary-family groups), on Tuesday afternoons there is a service for women (aged sixteen and up), and on Wednesday afternoons there is a children's service (up to about sixteen years of age). Besides services, there are a number of other church-related activities. Every Tuesday afternoon and evening, members of the church who are able to do so are engaged in genealogical research (an activity related to certain doctrines of the Mormon Church). Twice a week there is a practice

TABLE 19

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Weekly-scheduled Activities of the Mormon Congregation, Motulahi 1970

Day	Time	Activity
Sunday	10:00 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.	church service
	4:00 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.	church service
	5:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.	choir practice
Monday	evening	family service
Tuesday	3:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	women's service
	afternoon and evening	genealogical work
Wednesday	3:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	children's service
	7:30 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	church service
Thursday	8:00 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.	choir practice
Friday	no weekly-scheduled activity	
Saturday	no weekly-scheduled activity	

Source: field notes.

621 794 session for members of the church choir. In addition to these weekly-recurring activities, on the afternoon of the first Saturday of each month there is a discussion-group meeting for each of the three classes of adult members (men of the category of 'priest', men and youths who are not priests, and the members of the women's auxilliary), and about once a month on a Saturday evening there is a social evening (dancing, costume party, movie, or some other performance).

In the Free Wesleyan Church, there are church services for the entire congregation three times on Sundays (although few members of the congregation attend all three services), and services again on Monday afternoons and Tuesday and Friday mornings (see Table 20). On Wednesday afternoons there is a service for women only. And besides services, Sunday school, and choir practice, there are a number of other regularly-scheduled activities that take place on Sundays. About an hour before the mid-morning service, the men of the congregation in Motulahi gather informally at the home of the steward to drink kava and [276 574] talk about current events. After the mid-morning service, the men who have the status of malanga (lay preacher) participate in a formal kava circle at the home of one of the members of the congregation.[5] This is the prelude to

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[5] Pratt (1922) gives a description of this activity which I found very similar to what I observed in 1969-70.

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TABLE 20

Weekly-scheduled Activities of the Free Wesleyan Congregation, Motulahi 1970

Day	Time	Activity
Sunday	5:00 a.m. - 6:00 a.m.	church service
	9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	Sunday School
	10:00 a.m. - 11:30 a.m.	church service
	11:30 a.m. - 1:30 p.m.	kava circle, followed by congregational feast
	3:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.	church service
	4:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m.	festive tea
	6:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	choir practice
Monday	5:00 a.m. - 6:00 a.m.	church service
Tuesday	5:00 a.m. - 6:00 a.m.	church service
Wednesday	4:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	women's service
Thursday	no weekly-scheduled activity	
Friday	5:00 a.m. - 6:00 a.m.	church service
Saturday	no weekly-scheduled activity	

Source: field notes.

621 794 [574] the fakaafe Sāpate (Sabbath feast), at which the preacher of the morning's sermon is the guest of honor. Following the feast there is a break for an hour or two, and then the congregation gathers again for the mid-afternoon service. After the mid-afternoon service, the adult male members of the congregation gather again at the home of another member of the congregation, where they are served fakaafe efiafi ('afternoon feast', i.e., a festive tea). Besides these weekly-recurring activities, there is a discussion session for adult members of the congregation that takes place about once a month. On these occasions, members of the congregation meet for about an hour before the Sunday afternoon service in groups of about fifteen people, men and women separately. Once a month, also, there is a special service that is held late on Sunday afternoon. On these occasions there is always some festive aspect to the service. For example, the Sunday School might put on a play, or there might be a joint service with a neighboring Free Wesleyan congregation, or a choir competition might be held. Throughout the year, also, there are other special events. There is a special service, for example, to mark the beginning of the school year, and another special service plus a feast for all members of the congregation, children as well as adults, to mark Mother's
[574] Day early in May. There is also a special service held on

621 New Year's Eve and a week of feasting in the first week of
794 the new year.
[574]

The Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga have
[574] a weekly schedule of services similar to that of the Free
Wesleyan Church, and a similar routine on Sundays but
without a congregational feast each week. There is less
emphasis on communal feasting in these denominations,
possibly because the congregations are not large enough to
[574] support such activities on a regular basis. However, they
do have feasts and other special activities at certain
times of the year, such as at Christmas, Easter, and New
Year.

621 In contrast to the frequency and intensity of
794 activity within each congregation, there are no inter-
798 denominational events at the local level. In other words,
the different congregations in the village do not interact
with one another qua congregation. On the contrary, the
mutual posture of the different congregations appears to
be one of tolerant avoidance when it is not an attitude of
studied indifference to the fact of the others' existence.
While, on the national level, the various denominations
are sometimes bitterly if mutedly antagonistic, there are
few signs of competition between denominations at the
local level. For example, the proselytizing activities of
the Mormon and Free Wesleyan churches are never carried out

621 in the person's home village.[6] Thus there is seldom an
794 occasion to confront the fact that there are differences
798 of denominational affiliation within the village.

Doctrinal differences among the denominations are seldom discussed within the village, not even among members of the same denomination. If asked, an informant would undoubtedly affirm the superiority of the doctrines of his/her own denomination, but the point is that comparisons of doctrine are seldom made, nor do people seriously
[262] deprecate the beliefs of others. The only common exception to the general appearance of inter-denominational tolerance in Motulahi is that Seventh Day Adventists are occasionally spoken of derisively as kai-kosi (goat eaters), a reference to the fact that they do not eat pork, the primary status food in Tonga. In addition, snide remarks are sometimes made about Mormon activities such as full-time proselytizing, genealogical research, and costume parties, all of which are perceived as being most unTongan and peculiarly Mormon. Some members of the Free Wesleyan Church in Motulahi assert that the Mormon Church is not a truly Protestant church, and a few go so far as to say that the Mormon religion is not a true Christian religion (which is a particularly shocking thing to say in Tonga). However, I suspect that

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[6] These activities are described in Decktor Korn 1977.

621 many of these remarks are caused by resentment at the
794 success of the Mormon Church in gaining new adherents.
798 Moreover, while there is some ill-feeling towards the
Mormon Church as an institution, there is no condemnation
of particular individuals merely because they belong to the
Mormon Church. People are far more critical of those who
show little involvement at all in the activities of any
congregation than they are of any persons for being
adherents of a particular denomination.

Church Membership and Status-striving Activities

794 It is a religious duty to participate in congrega-
[775] tional and denominational activities, with damnation in
[626] the afterlife and public disapproval on earth as sanctions
[554] for attendance. Besides this, however, congregational
activities are important social events, providing an arena
within which individuals engage in status-striving
activities.

602 The majority of village women, of all denominations,
562 spend most of their free time among kin, either at their
[512] own homes or visiting at the homes of close kinswomen.
[461] When a woman organizes a work party, for example, women
of the local kin group with which she is affiliated will
562 form the basis of the work party. Similarly, young men
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562 do not necessarily associate with members of their own
517 denomination; instead, they spend most of their leisure
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[526] time in the company of others of their age. During the
winter football season they are fully engaged in the
activities of the village football club, and in the
summer they serve as cheering sections to the girls'
[571] basketball teams. They also do a lot of *'eva pē* ('just
going around') away from their home village, seeking scope
for their courting activities.

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885 Ordinarily, however, by his late twenties a young
[582] man has married and begun to settle down. From then on,
[794] the time that he spends outside his own household but away
[276] from income-producing activities is almost entirely spent
[574] in the company of other adult males of his congregation,
often at a kava-drinking circle that meets at the home of
794 one of the group.[7] This is especially true of members of
562 Motulahi's Free Wesleyan congregation, which is a large
574
276 enough congregation to sustain a kava group that meets
almost daily at the home of the man who serves as steward
794 of the congregation. A man also prefers to cooperate in
562 economic activities beyond his own household with members
476
of his own congregation (possibly because this provides a
sanction for their acting in good faith). For example, I

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[7] Beaglehole gives an excellent account of kava activities in village life (1941: 112-123).

794 knew of five instances in Motulahi in 1969 in which men
562 became partners for a season of watermelon growing, and
476 in four cases they were members of the same congregation.
[464] Similarly, a senior member of the Roman Catholic
congregation, who owns one of the packing sheds in the
village, generally employs only members of his own
[602] congregation when he requires assistance. If these
[554] associates are also kinsmen, so much the better, for he
is then also gaining merit by being a patron to his
kinsmen and binding them to him; but the kin tie is not
794 essential. In contrast to this, women have a reverse
562 order of priorities in choosing associates. For example,
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461 if a woman organizes a day of tapa-painting, women of her
fāmili will form the basis of the work party, supplemented
in some instances by non-kinswomen who are linked to her
as neighbors or as members of her congregation.

794 The emphasis on associating with men of one's own
562 congregation is due to the fact that the local congregation
554 is the major arena of prestige-acquisition for men. A man
who seeks to increase his standing in the village cannot
hope to do so without the participation and support of his
[574] fellow congregants. A feast giver, for example, must be
associated with respectable people who he can invite to his
feasts, so that he can gain the prestige that is to be
[574] derived from these displays. The higher the status of his

794 guests, the greater the honor that is reflected upon him.
562 Thus, Tongans' absorption with matters relating to church
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[574] membership is closely linked with what is possibly the
[181] primary cultural theme in Tongan society, namely, the
process of continually re-ordering relationships of
relative rank.

794 In the enumeration of congregational activities, reference was made to classes of membership within the Mormon Church. The Wesleyan churches also put considerable emphasis on grades of membership. In the Free Wesleyan Church, young men and women become full members of the church at some point in their late teens or early twenties, after years of attendance at Sunday School and later participation in the young people's Methodist Christian Endeavor Society. The procedure is for them to ask a relative or some other adult to submit their request for admission to the grade of communicant (lotu fehu'i, 'enquiring prayer'). They are then appointed to junior membership in one of the discussion groups in the congregation. After some years, the leader of the group may inform the steward of the congregation that the person is ready to proceed to the highest grade of lay membership in the church. The steward then submits the person's name to the minister of the congregation and the minister registers the change of status with the Central Office of

794 the Church. Men become members of the kau malanga ('corps
794 of lay preachers'), and women become members of the kau
562 akonaki ('corps of moral instructors'). There are similar grades of membership in the other Wesleyan denominations, although procedures of transition from one grade to the next are less formal. For women, there is little formal public announcement of the change to akonaki ('moral instructor') status. However, in the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga the transition is very evident; women of 'moral instructor' status in these denominations wear hats to church as a sign of their respectability (in the manner of the wives of the ministers who brought Christianity to Tonga). For men, the transition to malanga (lay preacher) status is marked in all the Wesleyan denominations by their preaching their first sermon, usually a ten-minute address at a Sunday afternoon church service. The occasion is regarded as a matter of pride and congratulation for the new lay preacher and his family.

589 There was only one unmarried man under the age of
794 thirty who was a member of the corps of lay preachers in
562 Motulahi while I was in the field. This person was known in the village for the piety of his demeanour, and had attained lay preacher status at the age of twenty-six. Generally, however, the standard of morality expected of a

794 member of the corps of lay preachers is not consonant
589 with the behavior attributed to young unmarried men. I
562 knew of an unmarried man in his late thirties who held
a highly respected administrative position in government
and who was very active in congregational activities in
his village. Yet he was not a member of the corps of
lay preachers. I asked someone who knew him well why
this was so, and was told rather huffily that membership
in the corps of lay preachers is not automatic and that
the man had apparently chosen not to petition to be made
a member. Why not, I asked. *Fa'iteliha pē ia*--'it's
his prerogative'--I was told. He was married a few
months after that, however, and not long afterwards I
heard that he gave his first sermon. Marriage, then, is
taken to be related to a person's moral uprightness and
fitness to be a member of the corps of lay preachers.
794 This is also indicated by the case I was told of a man
586 who, shortly after he was divorced, made the request that
562 his name be removed from the register of lay preachers.
I was told that he was not required to do this but that
he may have done it because he did not want his status
as a divorced man to reflect upon his membership in the
corps of lay preachers.

794 As far as I could tell, membership in the women's
562 auxilliary, the 'corps of moral instructors', makes little

794 difference to one's behavior as a member of the congrega-
562 tion beyond the fact that it is a valued status that
[796] signifies decency and full adult womanhood. But only men
[574] of lay preacher status--of whom there were 78 out of a
total of 104 adult males in the congregation of the Free
Wesleyan Church in Motulahi in 1970--may preach a sermon,
and generally only a lay preacher may act as host at a
794 congregational feast. Both of these are status-enhancing
554 activities, for the very fact of a public performance of
this sort is implicit affirmation of the person's rectitude.
Indeed, any situation in which a person has been appointed
to act publicly as a special member of the congregation
is status-enhancing. (Admittedly, some situations or
occasions are more prestigious than others; thus, to
deliver the sermon or host the feast on Christmas Day is
more status-enhancing than to do so the Sunday before
Christmas, and to be steward of the congregation is more
prestigious than to be choirmaster or teach Sunday School.)
[796] One of the indicators of whether a person is highly
regarded beyond his own village is whether he has been
asked to preach a sermon beyond the boundaries of his
home congregation.

793 The minister of the congregation, generally a full-
794 time pastor appointed to the congregation by the national
governing body of the church, decides who will be asked

793 to prepare the sermon. He makes this determination in
794 consultation with the steward of the congregation, who is a member of the congregation elected to the position of steward on an annual basis by his fellow lay preachers in the congregation. The steward also makes up the annual roster of Sabbath and holy-day feast givers. He usually does this by himself, for a minister may know of the frequency and intensity of a person's participation in church services and other denominational activities--factors that are crucial in determining the roster of preachers, but is usually insufficiently acquainted with the members of the congregation to know their status in the village and what resources they can muster--factors that must be taken into account in determining the roster of feast-givers. (This is particularly true of the Free Wesleyan minister of Motulahi, who is resident in the neighboring village of Nukutau, but it is generally true in most Wesleyan congregations since one of the principles of Wesleyan organization is that ministers do not serve for more than a few years with any one congregation.)

794 The matching-up of feast-giver and preacher is one of the
574 more obvious areas in which the steward's social skill is crucial, for the preacher of the sermon that day is a guest of honor at the feast. In making up these rosters, therefore, the steward acts as monitor and arbiter of the

794 relative status of members of the congregation.

574 A feast-giver has the opportunity for a status-
794 574 554 enhancing display and for having people acknowledge his status by the fact of their presence as guests at his feast. Nevertheless, there is no formal requirement to make a big display at a congregational feast; a feast can be as modest or as lavish as the feast-giver chooses or is able to make it. The extent of a person's involvement in these activities is to some extent dependent on the participation of his relatives and other associates. This, in turn, is partly a reflection of the person's position in the *fāmili*, and partly a reflection of the size of the *fāmili*, its members' wealth, and the general level of involvement of the *fāmili* in these status-enhancing activities. The greater the person's participation in the past as a contributor at the feasts of other people, the more assistance that person will receive when it comes time for him to act as host. Conversely, if he wishes to make a good display as a host, he must first incur obligations to himself through widespread and generous contributions to others. Feast-givers also have the option of inviting whom they choose, including members of different denominations and persons from other villages (although neither is very common at a congregational feast). Some feast-givers invite the entire corps of lay preachers

794 in their congregation--not necessarily all of whom choose
574 to attend, however. Others, less interested in pursuing
554 status through feasting or less able to do so, provide a
smaller feast. This, in turn, affects who invites them. Thus, congregational feasts provide occasions for on-going exchanges between feast-givers and their guests, on the one hand, and the hosts and those who have contributed to their feasts, on the other. People adjust their exchanges as their strategies for social recognition and their material needs and resources change, and every feast provides a new opportunity for re-defining relationships.

Changing Denominational Affiliation

794 The avoidance of inter-denominational confrontation
795 within the village, noted earlier, is possibly best under-
612 stood as a tension-reducing accomodation to the fact that
592 the various denominations not only separate the village into a number of different congregations, but quite often cut across _fāmili_ affiliation and even household membership. (The phenomenon of denominational differences within the _fāmili_ is illustrated in Figure 9, which depicts the denominational affiliation of the core members of two of the _fāmili_ in Motulahi.) Where a household might be equally affiliated with more than one _fāmili_ in the village, it will usually be affiliated with the _fāmili_ whose members

FIGURE 9

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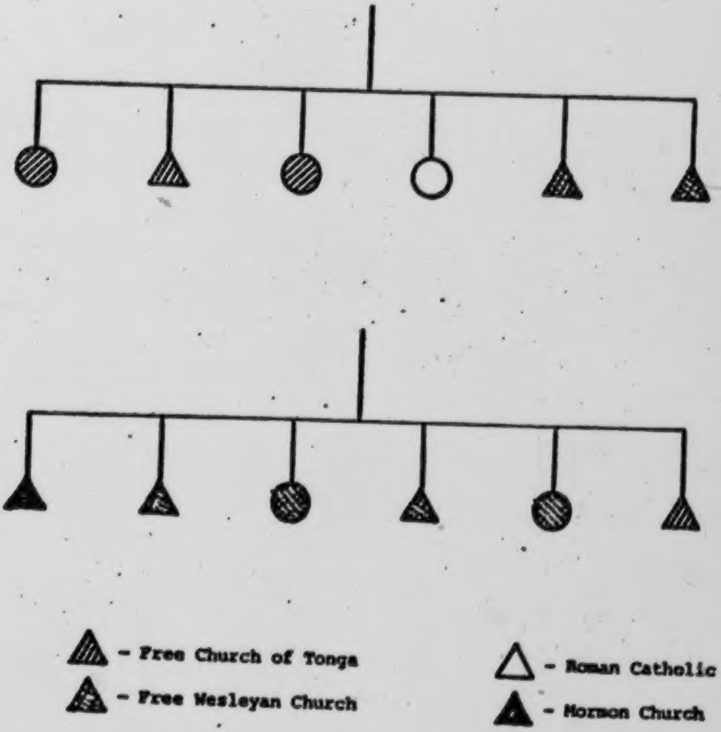
Denominational Differences among the Core Members of Two Pāmili in Motulahi


▲ - Free Church of Tonga
▲ - Free Wesleyan Church
△ - Roman Catholic
▲ - Mormon Church

794 are predominantly of their own denomination. If there is
795 no such choice, however, and members of different denomi-
612 592 nations find themselves associated within the same fāmili,
then these people assist one another and make contributions
to one another's feasts, even if it is for a denomination
[574] other than their own. They may even be guests at such a
feast, and none of this is held to compromise their denominational
affiliation in any way. The same holds true
when members of a household belong to different denomintions.
Moreover, this is not a rare situation. There
were intra-household differences of denomination in
forty-three (30 percent) of the households in Motulahi in
1970, including differences in denominational affiliation
between parents and some of their married children in
fourteen out of fifty-one three-generational households.

794 Denominational diversity among kin arises in part
795 because switching to a different denomination is not
uncommon in Tonga. My data on this are incomplete, as I
[152] did not examine the phenomenon directly. What struck
[771] me was the seeming incongruity between the intensity
and apparent fervor of people's commitment to their own
denomination, on the one hand, and the equanimity with
which they appeared to view the fact of denominational
diversity in Tonga and their close kin being affiliated
with different denominations. That people switched deno-

794 minational affiliation and that this was also regarded
795 with equanimity merely seemed to me to be part of the same problem, constituting one more set of data exhibiting the apparent formlessness and flux of Tongan society.

As I understand it now, denominational changes occur in association with one of the following circumstances: through schooling, marriage, and what I speak of as 'personal retooling'.

Schooling

873 While education in Tonga is compulsory for everyone
[871] through age fourteen or completion of primary school, higher
[872] education has become an important element of social differentiation and there is tremendous competition for admission to secondary schools. (In 1969, for example, almost three thousand boys and girls took the entrance exam that would admit about seventy students to the first grade of post-primary education in the only government high school that
[658] prepares students for university entrance.)[8] Furthermore,
[794] while the government provides two-thirds of the primary
[872] education in the country, about 85 percent of all secondary students are educated in schools that are provided by the various denominations.

873 In considering the provision of education as an
794 element in inter-denominational competition for adherents,
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[8] Report of the Tonga Department of Education (1970: 2).

873 794 795 it is useful to distinguish between its role in recruiting new members and its role in retaining those who are already within the church.[9] The Mormon Church in particular recruits many of its new members through the provision of education. To a lesser extent this is also true of the Seventh Day Adventists and the Anglican Church. Among the other denominations, however, the provision of education serves nowadays more as a means of retaining those who are already members. Only the Mormons, Anglicans and Seventh Day Adventists are in a position to admit students who are not members of the church, thus attracting potential converts. The other denominations have insufficient secondary-school facilities to accomodate all those who are already members.

In speaking of switching denominational affiliation through schooling, I am referring to those cases in which people who have attended a school run by a church other than that of their parents' denomination grow up to become members of that denomination. While they are children they usually belong to their parents' denomination, irrespective of the school they attend. But once they enter the age at which one becomes a full adult member of the church (that is, during their senior secondary school years), many

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[9] For some further discussion of this element of inter-denominational competition, see Decktor Korn 1977.

873 switch their affiliation to the denomination that is
794 providing them with their education. In view of this, and
795 given the possibility that young people may switch their affiliation to the denomination that is providing them with their education, it is interesting to note that parents permit their children to go to these schools. The fact that they do allow this is further evidence of the relative lack of significance attached to the existence of denominational differences among kin.

Marriage

582 Inter-denominational marriage reveals another aspect
794 of the way in which denominational differences among kin
795 are handled. Such differences are seldom a barrier to marriage in Tonga, and it is entirely possible that a husband and wife will have been members of different denominations before they were married. In fact, there were 38 such cases in Motulahi out of a total of 150 married couples living in the village in 1970 (25 percent).

As far as I could determine, there is no general opposition to the notion of marriage between people of different denominations; parents and close kin may be opposed to the marriage, but beyond this other people are seldom concerned about it. Anyway, except for expressing their disapproval, there is little that anyone can do about the matter, and the couple usually deals with the

582 794 795 situation by presenting the certificate of civil registration of the marriage as a *fait accompli*.[10] Long-term refusal to have anything to do with the couple after this would almost certainly be viewed as too extreme. I was told of how one formidable old woman of the Free Wesleyan Church, incensed at her grand-daughter's announced intention to marry a Roman Catholic, tore off her clothes and rolled naked on the floor to express her anger and contempt. I saw no sign of these objections, however, in her present behavior towards her grand-daughter and little great-grandchildren (who are being raised as Roman Catholics).

In most situations of inter-denominational marriage, one member of the couple switches to the other's denomination. There were only four cases among couples living in Motulahi in 1970 where the husband and wife were not of the same denomination. (All involve marriages of long standing and/or older people; in each of these cases the woman is prominent in the community, although it is not clear to me whether this prominence is a cause or consequence of her denominational independence.) There is no

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[583] [10] It is my impression that there is a high proportion of elopement, nowadays--at least on the island of Tongatapu --even where the couple are of the same denomination; so much so that this cannot be regarded as merely deviant [585] behavior. By 'elopment' (*mali hola*) I refer to the practice of being married in secret; that is, with few or no close family members being present. All that is necessary is to register the marriage at the Public Records Office; no religious ceremony is required.

582 formal requirement that both members of a couple belong
794 to the same denomination. Nevertheless, a person's status
795- as a worthy member of the congregation is based in part
on his/her spouse's participation in congregational
activities and the children's induction into the church
through Sunday School, and in this sense it is necessary
that both members of the couple belong to the same denomination.
582 In almost all cases, it is the woman who switches
794 to her husband's denomination, rather than the other way
795
562 around. This reflects the fact that it is more difficult
554 for a man to establish his status as a full member of a
church than it is for a woman, and that church membership
is a more important status-defining attribute for men
[612] than it is for women. Most men's foremost reference group,
outside their own household, is the congregation of their
church, whereas the comparable reference group for most
[591] women is the local kin group. Thus, we find eleven cases
in Motulahi in which, it seems, each spouse has conceded
that which is less important: the couple resides in the
wife's village but are members of the husband's denomination.
(In this regard it is interesting to note that
formal status in the church, such as membership in the
582 kau malanga, is not affected by shifts of residence.) I
794 know of only one case, not involving residents of Motulahi,
795 where the couple did not get married because neither of

582 794 795 them would agree to give up their religion and the alternative of their remaining members of different denominations was also not acceptable to them. Doubtless there are other instances of couples who decided not to get married because of denominational differences, but this is not usually the case.

Personal Re-tooling

794 795 While my data regarding the shifting of denominational affiliation at marriage are fairly scanty, the broad outlines of the phenomenon can be understood with reference to other factors for which there is more substantial evidence. However, the following discussion of 'personal re-tooling' is less solidly grounded, and should be viewed as somewhat tentative.

By 'personal re-tooling' I refer to the fact that, whatever the sincerity of the religious conviction involved, conversion to a different denomination necessarily entails some examination of one's present circumstances (in whatever terms they are defined) and comparison of these circumstances with the prospects that are possible within the new denomination. Whatever else it signifies, therefore, to change one's denominational affiliation implies a decision to involve oneself in a new set of commitments with a new set of fellow-congregants. Moreover, the transfer of denominational affiliation cannot be a gradual process

794 during which one has the opportunity of assessing whether
795 to go through with it, as is the case in shifting *fāmili* membership; switching denominational affiliation is necessarily abrupt and the person must immediately take up activity within the new congregation. For a woman to do this at marriage is something that is virtually expected, and is accepted in the community without negative comment. But conversion as an adult in circumstances other than marriage is a different matter. It is regarded as a choice made for reasons having to do with the person's calculation of instrumental interests, and is not something that is generally approved.

On the basis of my data from Motulahi, it would appear that changing denominational affiliation in personal re-tooling is associated mainly with switching to the Mormon Church. Table 21 depicts the circumstances under which some adults changed their denominational affiliation, and these data suggest that the circumstances associated with switching to the Mormon Church may be different from those relating to other denominations. The table shows that a total of twenty people resident in Motulahi in 1969-70 had converted as adults to another denomination in circumstances other than marriage. In some cases the person was an adult but not yet married, in other cases both husband and wife had been affiliated with the same

TABLE 21

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Circumstances of an Adult Changing Denominational Affiliation, Residents of Motulahi 1970, by Sex

New affiliation	Circumstances of change				Total
	At marriage		Other than marriage		
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Mormon Church	5	7	12	3	27
All other denominations	1	23	2	3	29
TOTAL	6	30	14	6	56

Source: fieldwork survey and field notes.

794 denomination and switched together to another denomination,
795 in a few instances the husband converted first and the wife converted later, and in one case a man became a Mormon while his wife remained a member of the Roman Catholic Church. Each of these cases, in my view, falls under the heading of 'personal re-tooling', and three-quarters of these cases involve switching to the Mormon Church. Moreover, in those cases where there was a change of denominational affiliation at marriage, while there are thirty instances of women switching to their husband's denomination, there are only six instances of a man moving over to his wife's denomination and five of these cases involve switching to the Mormon Church. Given what is involved in being a church member, a man's switching to his wife's denomination at marriage might also be understood as a decision to re-tool.

For us to understand these data, I submit that switching to the Mormon Church be viewed as a stratagem for gaining access to resources and opportunities that are otherwise not available nowadays or available only with
[461] considerable difficulty. For example, the Mormon Church is a major employer in Tonga, second only to the government for employment outside teaching, and generally employs
[873] only Mormons. The Mormon Church is also a major source of scholarships for study abroad, and these are allocated only

794 to those who are Mormons or who have graduated from one
795 of the Mormon schools in Tonga. The most able students
873 are supported at the University of Hawaii. Others are
trained in a wide range of academic and technical
subjects at the Church College of Hawaii (now Brigham
[464] Young University - Hawaii). Graduates find the Church,
both in Tonga and elsewhere, to be a willing employer.
794 Finally, the Mormon Church is a primary avenue of
795 long-term emigration. Indeed, the majority of Tongans
167 who have emigrated to the United States mainland have
done so under the auspices of the Mormon Church. In
summary, membership in the Mormon Church opens up
prospects that are not available to most Tongans.

794 In addition to employment, educational and emigra-
795 tion opportunities, membership in the Mormon Church
183 provides a justification for ceasing to follow certain
patterns of behavior that are associated with anga faka-
[574] Tonga ('Tongan custom'). Mormon congregations, for example,
do not have the feasts that are characteristic of the
Wesleyan churches. Thus members are relieved of the
material burdens and social obligations of congregational
feasting. Members of the Mormon Church also tend not to
[602] engage in communal feasting on other occasions. Indeed,
it is my impression that members of the Mormon Church are
more narrowly involved in kinship reciprocity than members

794 of other denominations. It seems significant in this
795 regard that Mormon doctrines and congregational practices
183 place considerable emphasis on the individual elementary
[602] family. Certainly, there are noticeably fewer multiple-
[594] family households among the Mormons in Motulahi (see
[592] Table 22). This suggests either that Mormon heads of
[596] household do not have the means of supporting more than
[554] their own families, or else that having many dependents is
not the major stratagem of garnering prestige for them
794 that it is for other Tongans. Mormons also tend to be
795 more open than other Tongans in asserting that traditional
183 elements of rank and privilege should be eliminated. In
554 place of the traditional criteria of status and customary
forms of status-behavior, material prosperity and
individual achievement are emphasized. In sum, membership
in the Mormon Church accords with the pursuit of an
individualistic course of upward mobility. However, I am
not claiming that people who convert to the Mormon
religion do so only in order to pursue such a course. My
argument, rather, is that in Tonga an adult's switching
affiliation from one denomination to another is an indication
of personal re-tooling, just as moving to a different
village is an indication of re-tooling; each involves a
decision to put oneself in contact with a new set of

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TABLE 22

Household Types in Motulahi, 1970, Classed by the Denomination of the Male Head of the Household

Household type	Male head of household		Total
	Mormon (N=29) %	Other (N=113) %	(N=142) %
Single-family-group household	76	63	65
Multiple-family-group household	24	37	35
TOTAL	100	100	100

Source: fieldwork survey.

794 associates.[11] That being the case, when a change of
795 residence or of denominational affiliation occurs in
183
554 circumstances other than marriage, some new strategy of
achievement may reasonably be inferred.

Voluntary Associations

571 The data regarding shifting membership in households, fāmili, and congregations suggest that Tongan villagers avoid engaging in arrangements that commit them to sustained cooperation over a long period of time. This
312 appears to be borne out by the following material. A few
365 years before I came to Tonga, money had been raised in
Motulahi to provide a piped deep-well water system for the village, whereas before that people had relied exclusively on stored rain-water and shallow open wells. I found, however, that the piped water system worked only irregularly, owing to ineffective arrangements for priming the pump and clearing blocked pipes. According to my notes, on January 26th 1970 tap water was available in Motulahi for the first time since New Year's Day. Nine days after that, the piped water supply quit again for two

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[11] In a paper on the phenomenon of denominational diversity in Tonga (Decktor Korn 1977), I argue that the present success of the Mormon Church in attracting new adherents follows the pattern of other churches in previous years, and is best understood as an instance of Tongans' readiness to welcome the possibility of new stratagems.

312 days. It worked on and off for a few months and then in
365 mid-April there was another three-week period in which
there was no piped water in the village. During such
periods people use the rain water that has accumulated
in storage drums and in the village water tank; indeed,
it is my impression that depletion of the rain-water is
what motivates whichever person takes the initiative
312 to re-activate the tap-water system. There are statutory
624 regulations that provide for the establishment of a Water
365 Committee in each village to see to collecting the money
and overseeing the labor necessary for keeping the village
water system in continual working order. In most villages,
however, the committees exist in name only, and this is
also true in Motulahi.

571 It might be inferred from these data that Tongan
villagers are somehow incapable of working for the common
good or that they are unwilling to cooperate beyond their
own kin-groups and congregations. However, the following
872 data will serve as a counter-example. The government
658 primary school in Motulahi has a reputation as a fine
school and there has been considerable growth in the student
872 population over the years. By 1969 there was beginning to
476 be a severe problem of insufficient classrooms and classes
doubling up in the same room. Finally, in October 1969,
after raising half the costs of the building materials,

872 476 villagers from Motulahi built three additional classrooms, working over a two-week period together with people from the four neighboring villages that are also served by the school.[12] A total of sixty-four men and women from Motulahi were involved in this labor--all but two of whom had at least one child in their household who was currently a student at the school--and most of them were at the work-site every day. At the end of this period of very intensive effort there were three new classrooms, and the local School Committee, which had coordinated all the effort, resumed its inactivity.

575 To understand why the classroom project was a success while the water system functions less effectively, it is instructive to consider another type of group that is found in Tonga at the local level, namely, voluntary associations (kautaha). The voluntary associations that I encountered in Tongan villages, as well as those I was told about in other villages, have the following features:

1. In contrast to such groups as the congregation and the fāmili, both of which are multi-purpose and situational-

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653 658 [12] This local effort is part of a national program in which village men perform the labor in building the classrooms and the women provide a common meal served at the worksite three times each day, while construction is supervized by the Government's Department of Public Works and the Public Works Department provides the other half of the costs of the building materials.

575 adaptive, all the voluntary associations are task-oriented
575 groups formed for specific purposes. For example, there
437 was the Kautaha Fisi ('the Fiji Society'), which consisted
of a group of fifteen women in Motulahi who had entered
into an exchange relationship with a similar group in a
village in Fiji. They gave woven pandanus mats, scented
coconut oil, and tapacloth in exchange for wooden chests
and mosquito netting. The arrangement had been set up
through the mediation of a daughter of one of the Motulahi
women, who was married to a Fijian and lived in the Fijian
village. The arrangement lasted for a year and a half,
during which period two exchanges were made; the second
took place during the period of my fieldwork. I learned
that three of the older women, who were the leaders of the
kautaha, had participated in a Kautaha Fisi some years
previously. They told me that they considered this sort
of institution to be an excellent way of obtaining scarce
and/or expensive goods in return for their own home-made
575 products. Another kautaha that I encountered in Motulahi
476 was a kau ngāue ('labor gang'), consisting of twelve men
from the village who worked as a team on a construction
575 project outside the village. Yet another kind of kautaha
454 is the kautaha lī pa'anga ('savings association'), which
may be organized for a variety of purposes. The one I
knew in Motulahi consisted of six couples who kept a joint

575 account in the savings bank in Nuku'alofa. The group met
454 for a social evening once a month. On these occasions,
each couple brought the amount of money that had been
agreed upon at the preceding meeting, and then the total
was deposited. The purpose of the kautaha was to ensure
regular savings and to keep the money that was saved intact
by having it deposited in a common account.[13]

575 2. The members of a kautaha are almost always residents
621 of the same village, and are usually further linked by ties
602 of kinship and/or membership in the same congregation.
794
[593] Thus, five of the six couples in the kautaha lī pa'anga
described above were related to one another as siblings;
all were adherents of the same denomination (although not
of the same congregation, as two of the member-couples
[437] were not resident in Motulahi). All the members of the
[476] Kautaha Fisi were residents of Motulahi, as were all the
members of the kau ngāue, and all but one of the men in
the kau ngāue were members of the Free Wesleyan congrega-
[437] tion. The denominational affiliations and kinship
connections among the women in the Kautaha Fisi are
depicted in Figure 10.

575 3. Every member of a kautaha usually has a direct
personal interest in pursuing the goals or purposes of the

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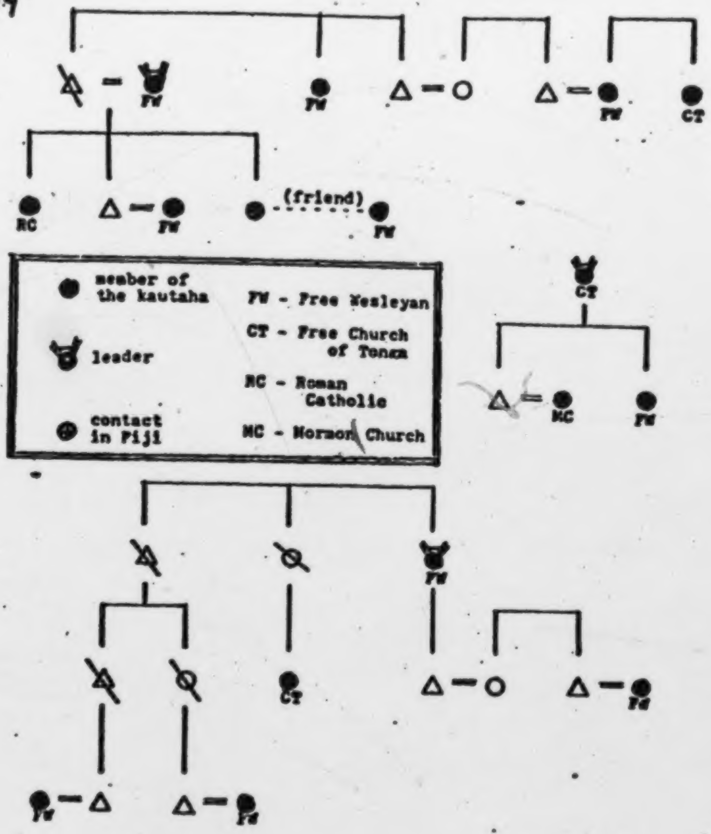
[13] Morton describes the various forms that a kautaha lī pa'anga can take (1972: 83-85).

FIGURE 10

575 602 437 794

Denominational Affiliations and Kinship Connections Among Members of the Kautaha Fisi


FW
FW
FW
CT
RC
FW
(friend)
FW
member of the kautaha
leader
contact in Fiji
FW - Free Wesleyan
CT - Free Church of Tonga
RC - Roman Catholic
MC - Mormon Church
CT
MC
FW
FW
CT
FW
FW
FW

575 association. In most cases, the interest is of a financial
575 or material nature, but this is not always the case. For
526 example, there can be little in the way of a material motive for participating in the village rugby-football association. This kautaha involves many of the young men of the village, irrespective of denominational affiliation; and, while the manifest purpose of the association is to train teams that will 'represent' Motulahi in inter-village competition, the association provides a fellowship group for the young men of the village. While they are 'in training' in the football season they cooperate in providing themselves with a common breakfast and a common evening meal and many of the members sleep together in a 'dormitory' set up in one of the sheds in the village. Similarly, fellowship is the primary motive underlying kava clubs (kalapu). These clubs consist of a number of men who meet together frequently, sometimes daily, at the home of the leader of the group. Members contribute to a kitty to provide kava and food and also presents for the young women who make the kava.

575 4. These associations usually do not continue for a long time. Both the Kautaha Fisi and the kautaha lī pa'anga that I knew in Motulahi disbanded during the period of my fieldwork; each had lasted for less than two years. The kau ngāue was beginning to break up at the time that I left

575 the field, after having been in existence for about seven
months, as there was no longer enough regular work for
575 everyone. Village football associations disband at the
526 end of each rugby-football season. The same is true of
the three neighborhood basketball associations in Motulahi.
These re-form from year to year, with some members joining
575 a different club the following season. Most kava-drinking
276 clubs have an even briefer span of existence; few last
more than two or three months.[14]

575 In summary, local voluntary associations are relatively short-lived groups that come into existence for the
pursuit of limited goals that are in the personal interest
[563] of members of the association. In contrast to these
groups, other voluntary associations in Tonga that do not have these features, such as the Tongan Red Cross and the Tongan Family Planning Association--both of which are conspicuously lacking in well-defined goals--have had little impact outside Nuku'alofa and receive most of their support from the expatriate European community.[15] Even

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[791] [14] In this respect, the long-standing informal association of men who gather almost daily at the home of the steward of the Free Wesleyan congregation, constitutes an exception that proves the rule. This group, while it is not formally constituted by the Free Wesleyan Church, would not be called a kautaha. It is similar to a kava club in some ways, but is significantly different in that it is an unofficial adjunct of the congregation.

[15] This statement about these associations, while it is true as of the time of my fieldwork, may no longer be true.

575 the Tongan Women's Association (Langa Fonua 'o Fefine Tonga), which is famous throughout the South Pacific, has had notable participation from village women on a regular basis only in the tourist shop run by the Association for the sale of members' handicrafts. At least as of the time of my fieldwork, few village women attended the talks or participated in the other activities regularly sponsored by the Association.

It should not be concluded from these materials on voluntary associations that Tongans do not cooperate to support goals that lie beyond their selfish interests.
575 An example that refutes this conclusion is the fact that
797 every year thousands of dollars are collected by members
794 of the various churches to support the activities of their church.[16] In the Free Wesleyan Church, the members of each congregation are divided every year into a number of groups called kalasi misionale ('mission classes'), each group consisting of from five to seven malanga and their wives. These groups--also a kind of kautaha--are mobilized at irregular intervals during the year on occasions when contributions of goods and/or labor are required. For example, while I was in Tonga there was a feast held in Nuku'alofa to bid farewell to a church

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[16] Bollard's M.A. thesis (1974) is probably the best source on this, but the findings have not yet been published.

575 797 794 offical who was returning to Australia upon his retirement after serving many years as a missionary in Tonga. Each congregation on Tongatapu contributed at least one *pola* to the feast, and this was arranged by the local steward assigning certain specific contributions to be made by each *kalasi*. Besides these occasional contributions, the efforts of the *kalasi* are directed at raising money through various fund-raising activities over the course of the year. (In this respect, the *kalasi misionale* functions as a form of *kautaha lī pa'anga*.) The money that is collected by each *kalasi* is handed over in public at a special meeting of the congregation that is held at the end of the year (and which is conducted with considerable fanfare), and the total amount is submitted by the steward to the central authorities of the Church. After this, as might be predicted on the basis of my analysis of *kautaha*, the steward re-allocates the members of the congregation in new *kalasi* for the new year.

Summary

571 The data presented in this chapter indicate the considerable flexibility that Tongans have in varying and manipulating their affiliations. Tongans clearly prefer to avoid long-term arrangements and do not engage in membership in groups that require them to take on indefinite
[572] commitments. (In this regard, it is interesting to note

57 [572] that the closest approximation in Tongan to the English word "friend" is "kaume'a", which is best rendered in English as "someone with whom I am associated in some project".) This is not to say that Tongans do not engage in long-range planning. On the contrary, the efforts made by so many villagers to ensure their children's education is clear indication of some orientation beyond immediate involvements. However, the data on the organization of congregations, kautaha, and fāmili indicate that Tongans tend to avoid permanent associations or other alignments that might curtail their options or limit their flexibility in making future arrangements.

CHAPTER VI

BEYOND LOCAL ORGANIZATION

128 In the three preceding chapters, the focus was on social organization at the local level with particular reference to the people of Motulahi. As noted in the introductory chapter, however, the term 'local level' implies that there are other levels of organization in the society. Tongan social organization beyond the local level is probably best understood in terms of the three national-level authorities that control the conduct of affairs in the country as a whole: the government, the high chiefs, and the major denominations.[1] While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to examine the national level of Tongan society in detail, at a number of points I have indicated that consideration of supra-local processes--particularly those relating to access to land--is essential for understanding the local-level phenomena under investigation. The local operation and effects of such processes

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[1] Some of the relationships among these authorities are examined in Marcus's doctoral dissertation (1976). However this is not the focus of his analysis, and no coherent picture of social organization at the national level emerges.

128 are seen in Chapters III and IV in relation to population
growth, land tenure, and settlement, and in Chapter V in
the discussion of denominational organization. What must
be considered in this chapter is how local units are
articulated with one another and with other units in the
national whole.

Village and Community

121 The first question to be considered is: what is the
621 significance of the village in the organization of Tongan
society? My argument is that the village as such is a
unit of little significance.

621 According to Nayacakalou, "the strongest single
622 force binding the members of the village together is their
common allegiance to their high chief" (1959: 100).
However, this "allegiance" entails few duties and changes
when the person moves to the village of a different chief.
Thus, this element of political cohesion within the village
generally amounts to little beyond the fact that the people
live in the same village and their rents are paid to the
621 same noble.[2] In considering this kind of village organiza-
tion, it must be understood that "one of the special factors

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[2] This is not to deny that in some cases villagers may have a strong sense of allegiance to their noble or chief and may perform certain services for him. But whether this is the case will depend on the persons involved and the circumstances of the relationship (see Chapter III).

621 in Tonga, which is probably different from other territo-
ries, is that the villages are not self-contained governing
175 units, and never have been" (Spillius 1959b: 3). Before
361 the nineteenth century, people lived in isolated homesteads
621
622 under the immediate authority of the head of the local
descent group (see Decktor Korn 1976). During the period
of the civil war, they came to live together for protection
in fortified villages under the leadership of warrior
chiefs.[3] The historical evidence presented by Lātūkefu
(1974) suggests that then, as now, the strongest single
force binding the members of the village together was their
allegiance to their chief, with only a few elements of
concerted action under his leadership.

621 As we saw in the preceding chapters, local activities
612 are generally not organized on a village basis per se. For
example, the localized kin group known as the fāmili is
not essentially a village-based group. Admittedly, people
of different villages seldom belong to the same fāmili,
hence the fāmili appears to be village-based, but the
reason why members of a fāmili tend to be people who live
in the same village is because of the nature of the obliga-
tions of fāmili membership. These obligations tend to
require interaction at a level that is difficult to sustain

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[3] Walsh (1970) discusses the evolution of the Tongan settlement pattern.

621 unless one lives near enough to other members of the
612 fāmili to facilitate frequent visiting back and forth.
Such visiting would certainly be possible if members of
a fāmili lived in neighboring villages, but the fact is
that it is not common for fāmili membership to straddle
612 village boundaries. In the first place, the means of
621 acquiring an allotment (or acquiring access to the use of
423 425 someone else's land) make it unlikely that male members of
a sibling descent group would live in neighboring villages
rather than in the same village. If they were living in
neighboring villages rather than the same village this
suggests that there might be strongly divisive elements
in their relationship, in which case they probably would
not belong to the same fāmili even if they lived in the
[593] same village. It is also not common for brothers and
621 sisters to live in neighboring villages. Since the
584 intentions of unmarried men are generally regarded with
571 [589] some suspicion, patterns of courtship do not favor marriage
between men and women of neighboring villages; one either
courts in one's home village, where people are known to
one another and where there are sanctions for proper
behavior, or one conducts one's courtship away from home,
in which case a neighboring village is too close to be
621 attractive. The effect of these elements is that there are
612 relatively few cases in which the wife is a member of a
593 592 sibling descent group based in one village and the husband

621 is a member of a sibling descent group based in the village
593 next door. And even where this does happen, it is unlikely
612 that the household would participate as members of a _fāmili_
592 in a neighboring village if there were also a _fāmili_ in the
village of residence with which the household could be
affiliated. It is only when for some reason there is no
suitable _fāmili_ in the village of residence that a household
might participate regularly in a _fāmili_ that is based
621 in another village. Similar factors operate against the
575 likelihood of a person's being a member of a _kautaha_ based
621 away from that member's village of residence. People
571 prefer to be associated with others of their own village
for reasons of convenience and prudence; so that they can
interact freely with their associates and easily monitor
[612] their activities. In summary, the _fāmili_ is a village-based group because it is basically a local action-group.

621 Like the _kautaha_ and the _fāmili_, the congregation
794 is more correctly described as a local group rather than
a village group. In most villages on Tongatapu, the Free Wesleyan Church is the only denomination whose congregation could be said to be village-based in the sense that all the members of the congregation are village residents, and this is also true in Motulahi. The reason is because the Free Wesleyan Church has a far greater number of adherents than other denominations. Owing to their numbers, members

621 of the Free Wesleyan Church are usually able to support
794 their own village church and do not have to suffer the
inconvenience of attending church in another village. Conversely, some of the people who belong to the Motulahi-based congregations of the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga live in the small village of Tatafa, about two miles away, for their denominations are not able to support a church in their own village. Similarly, the Roman Catholic families in Motulahi are members of a congregation that is based in the neighboring village of Nukutau, where there is a large Roman Catholic population, and the Mormons in Motulahi belong to a congregation whose membership is drawn from a number of nearby villages and whose church is located at the boundary between Nukutau and Motulahi. As for the few Seventh Day Adventists and even fewer Anglicans who lived in Motulahi in 1969-70, they had to go to Nuku'alofa to attend church. In short, the boundaries of a congregation are primarily dependent upon the density of adherents.

621 The preceding exposition of the nature of local-group
boundaries is presented in support for the statement that
the village as such has little significance as a unit of
575 local organization in Tonga. Local activities beyond the
794 household take place within the framework of congregations,
612 kautaha, and fāmili, each of which cuts across village

621 membership and may extend beyond the boundaries of the
[794] village. No local-level entity has the authority to
[575]
[612] co-ordinate the activities of these groups, to convene a village council of any sort, or to organize any other village-wide activity. In summary, the village neither functions as a political group nor is there any other group whose membership co-incides with all the inhabitants of the village. For these reasons, it is doubtful whether the Tongan village is to be regarded as a local group.
[224] Even for the isolated village-islands of Ha'apai, the only village-wide activity reported in response to my enquiries was that in some villages there is an occasional joint fish-catching expedition.[4]

621
765 In Motulahi, the closest approximation to village-wide action during the period of my fieldwork was the observance of a period of mourning when there was a death in the village.[5] For a few days after each death, no movies were shown and there was a stillness throughout the
[512] village. Usually, during the day, one hears the rhythmic
[287] note of wood striking wood as women pound bark into tapa-cloth, but this is put aside for the few days that the mourning is observed.

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[4] The Beagleholes give a description of joint fishing operations (1941: 36-37).

[165] [5] There were five deaths in the village during the period of my fieldwork: an old man, a boy, and three infants.

621 mourning is observed. The period of such abeyance usually
765 lasts about a week (it may be less in the case of a child's death or longer if the person was of high status), and it comes to an end after the head of a bereaved fāmili has spoken with one of the leading people in the village asking him to inform people that they should resume normal activities. It should be noted here that, as far as I could ascertain, there is no underlying notion that the village is mourning the loss of one of its members; instead, the observance of a period of quiet is regarded as a proper but voluntary gesture of respect towards the bereaved.

621 While the village as a unit has little significance
823 for action, this does not mean that a village is something without meaning. On the contrary, people identify themselves to others as being of or from such-and-such a place. In doing this, however, they may name a village or island other than the one in which they are presently residing.
[186] Self-identification by reference to another village or island is especially common among people who come from the smaller and more remote islands, some of whom have a strong sense of the way of life on their island being different from and preferable to that on more sophisticated islands.[6]

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[6] Conversely, I was told that on the smaller islands some people tend to emphasize the fact of their not being originally from that island.

621 823 There was a middle-aged woman who, in 1970, had been living in Motulahi for fifteen years and still claimed her real home to be one of the far northern islands of Tonga, even though she had not visited the island for many years and few of her kin were still living there. What is more, the young woman who was her daughter also spoke of herself as being really of or from that island, merely away from it for the time being through force of circumstances, although she had not lived there since before she was ten years old. In fact, this way of speaking of one's living "temporarily" in a village or island other than one's "real" place is very similar to the way in which people sometimes speak of household membership (see Chapter IV). In matters of village affiliation, too, the point at which one begins to speak of oneself as being of or from the new village is a subjective issue that is not simply a matter of length of residence and manifest ties to one place or another.

Not only do people identify themselves in terms of village (or island) membership, but this may also be a point of reference for identification by others. Indeed, most activities that involve large numbers of people who come from many villages use the local unit (i.e., the village or--if it is an intra-denominational activity--the congregation) as an organizing principle. At funerals,

At funerals,
621 which are widely attended by adherents of different deno-
823 minations, people may be asked to group themselves
[764] according to village-membership to facilitate the distri-
621 bution of food. People may even be maligned through refer-
186 ence to the folk reputation of their village or island--
823 a stereotypic reputation based on certain events in Tongan history. For example, on one occasion I was accompanying a group of basketball players from Motulahi to a match in a village a few miles away. Just as we came there, we passed a group of youths scuffling at the side of the road. The young women beside me turned to me and remarked: "Look at that, Sulamita. The people from--naming that village--are known to be ruffians, and see how true it is!" This reputation is based on a notorious episode involving people of that village that took place during the civil war. Other villages may be associated with elements that confer positive distinction. Thus, the village of Lapaha on Tongatapu is celebrated as the traditional seat of the Tu'i Tonga, the village of 'Uiha in Ha'apai is associated with Tāufa'āhau (the founder of the present ruling dynasty), the village of Fea on Tongatapu is highly regarded among Tongan Catholics as the first village where Catholic missionaries were welcomed, and so on. People who identify themselves with these villages take some pride in their village's place in history. However, a village's historical

621 186 823 reputation is not seriously regarded as an element of personal identity for individuals living in or associated with the village.

Articulation with Higher Levels of Authority

621 More than anything else, the Tongan village is a territorial entity, for villages are defined primarily in terms of the boundaries of the tracts of land known as 'estates' (tofia). Since every allotment is part of the estate of a particular noble or part of a specific Government estate, there is never any question about which is the village with which an allotment is associated, even where villages are contiguous. There is no doubt, for example, where Kukutau ends and Motulahi begins.

631 629 Besides its territorial definition, the Tongan village is defined by another external criterion: a village is an adminstrative unit within the state. Between the village and the state are two intermediate levels in the hierarchy of government. First, viewed from the top down, there are the districts, corresponding with the geographical groupings of islands: Tongatapu District, Ha'apai District, and Vava'u District.[7] The districts are further divided into sub-districts, and the sub-districts are made up of their constituent villages and town-sectors.

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[7] For some purposes, the island of 'Eua is treated as a separate district, as are the three far northern islands.

642 Figure 11 depicts the structure of government in Tonga. The system of government is essentially that laid down in the Constitution of 1875. The following exposition of the organization of national-level authority is excerpted from an unpublished project report by James Spillius, who spent two years in Tonga (1958-60) on assignment for the World Health Organization:

> The Government of Tonga is a constitutional monarchy consisting of the Sovereign . . . the executive, consisting of a Privy Council and Cabinet, the Legislative Assembly, and the Judiciary.
>
> 643 The [Sovereign] convokes and dissolves the Legislative Assembly . . . signature is necessary for bills to become law . . . appoints ministers of the Crown, with the advice of Privy Council.
>
> 645 Cabinet consists of the Premier, [the] Ministers, and the governors of Ha'apai and Vava'u. . . . There are eight ministries, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Public Works, Lands, Health, Agriculture, Education, and Police [but a minister may hold more than one portfolio] . . .
>
> Cabinet . . . discusses legislation which is to be presented in the Legislative Assembly, discusses ordinances before they are sent to Privy Council, considers motions put forward by members of the Legislative Assembly, passes or rejects special petitions or requests made to ministers, advises the [Sovereign] on the appointment of Governors for Ha'apai and Vava'u, appoints the Directors of Departments and gives final approval to all staff appointments, and approves all exit permits for Tongan citizens wishing to visit foreign lands for lengthy periods.
>
> 643 645 The Privy Council consists of Cabinet and the [Sovereign]. It discusses legislation for submission to the Legislative Assembly, passes ordinances which empower the ministers to act, and, with the addition of [the Chief Justice], it acts as a Court of Appeal.
>
> The Cabinet and Privy Council are thus the ultimate governing authorities of the Kingdom . . .

FIGURE 11

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643
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646
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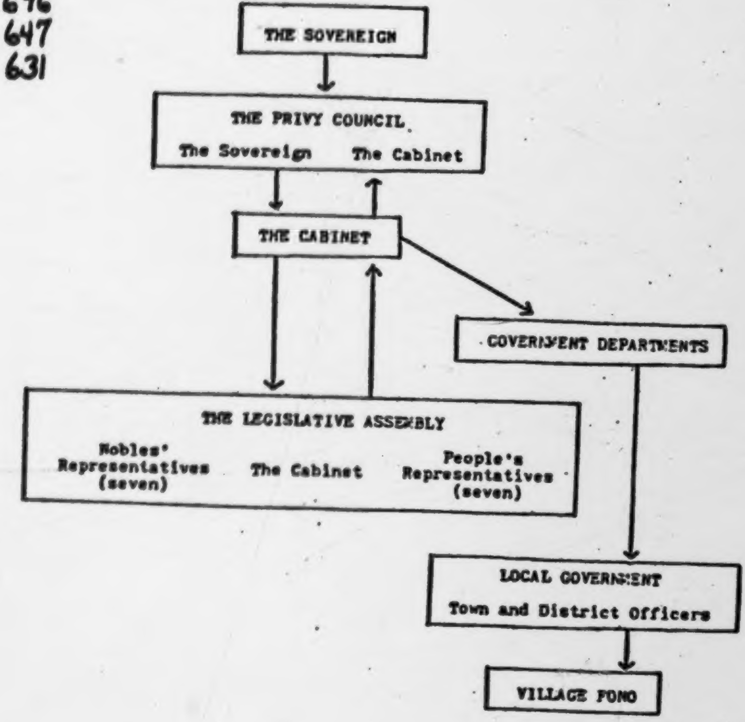
631

The structure of authority at the national level

(Adapted from Spillius 1960: 8, and de Bres 1974: 26)


THE SOVEREIGN
THE PRIVY COUNCIL
The Sovereign
The Cabinet
THE CABINET
GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS
THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
Nobles' Representatives (seven)
The Cabinet
People's Representatives (seven)
LOCAL GOVERNMENT
Town and District Officers
VILLAGE FONO

> 646 The Legislative Assembly consists of the Premier and his Ministers, including the governors of Ha'apai and Vava'u, seven representatives of the nobles elected by their peers, and seven representatives of the people [646] elected by popular franchise. Elections are held every three years. . . .
>
> The Assembly votes on the Financial Report, the Estimates (Budget) for the coming year, the bills proposed by Cabinet, the ordinances that have been passed by Privy Council, and the motions proposed from the floor of the House. If the Assembly rejects a bill proposed by Cabinet, the bill cannot become law, though it can be proposed again the following year. Such defeat of a bill is not a vote of no-confidence and Cabinet does not resign. Representatives may propose motions but not bills. Cabinet can refuse to act on motions passed by the Assembly.
>
> 621 646 . . . Each village has a Town Officer [who is elected and who is under the authority of] the Premier and there are twenty-two District Officers [who are elected at the sub-district level and who are also under the authority of the Premier] . . .
>
> 646 647 A large number of government departments are subsumed under the Premier's Office--the Audit Department, Tele- [692] graph and Telephones, the Printing Department, etc. For administrative purposes the Department of Justice is also subsumed under the Premier's Office but constitutionally it is a separate entity divorced from the executive (Spillius 1960: 8-9).

642 Government in Tonga is highly centralized. The cen- [647] tralization of executive authority is indicated by the fact that, with the exception of teachers and policemen, about three-quarters of all government workers are stationed in [634] Nuku'alofa. Even the district heads of departments in many cases are stationed in Nuku'alofa, rather than in the district centers (the towns of Neiafu in Vava'u and Pangai in [565] Ha'apai). Stationed in Nuku'alofa, they function as members of the Tongan elites.

642 Except at the most senior levels, government civil servants and other executive officers in Tonga have little power. Therefore, while formal procedures exist for people to deal with various levels of the government hierarchy, intermediate levels of the hierarchy are often by-passed. Instead, the ordinary villager usually functions as a private petitioner vis-a-vis those at high levels of authority in government, for personal representations to these people generally are more effective than trying to work through government channels. The result is a direct and very immediate relationship between villagers and national leaders, despite what may be vast differences between them
642 423 425 646 in rank. Thus, a number of men in Motulahi told me that they had been allocated their agricultural allotments on government estates on Tongatapu and 'Eua through having petitioned in person at the house--not the office--of the Premier, accompanied by a *matāpule* ('ceremonial orator')
642 178 [565] to speak on their behalf. This system of recourse to personal representations is similar to the way in which high chiefs were traditionally approached. In short, in the words of a man from New Zealand who spent some years in Tonga in the 1960s, working for the Tonga Government, government in Tonga "is western in its legal *form*, Tongan in its benevolent but autocratic *practice*" (Walsh 1967: 121--italics in original).

794
795 Within the major denominations, authority is similarly centralized and concentrated at the top. An exception to this is the Mormon Church, whose structure may be described as "federal", in the image of the mother country of that denomination. Among the Wesleyan denominations, the congregations manage their own internal affairs, but any executive matter that involves inter-congregational relations must be channelled through central committees that operate at the district level or higher. This is exemplified in the following case. The Free Wesleyan Church has a program of inter-congregational visits, where one congregation is assigned to visit another. It is a matter of pride for the visiting congregation to have as many members as possible join in the expedition, and they spend a day or two as guests of members of the host congregation, going as a group from house to house in the village, singing hymns and in general making people aware that the Free Wesleyans were there. In April 1970 the Free Wesleyan congregation at Motulahi was assigned to visit a congregation on the other side of Tongatapu. It so happened, however, that the Free Wesleyans of Motulahi had been engaged for three years in building a new church --working in spurts to accomplish each stage of the building, with lulls in between for raising funds to finance the next stage of construction--and had just

794 reached the stage at which they were ready to pour the
795 concrete for the floor. This was a job that would require members of the congregation to put aside their other activities for about a week. They therefore petitioned the central committee of the Free Wesleyan Church to set aside their assignment to visit the other congregation, and asked the committee to sanction their devoting that time to the church-building project. These requests were channelled up to the central committee through the local minister, who was approached by the steward and other leaders of the congregation asking him to speak to the central committee on behalf of the congregation. While there was no question that the requests would be granted, what I find most interesting is that it was necessary to make these requests and that the leaders of the congregation did not feel that they had the authority to approach the central committee themselves.

621 As the preceding case illustrates, in every village there are a number of local leaders (such as the heads of *fāmili* and the stewards and other leading members of each congregation) whose authority is derived from their position within the local community, but who have little
[646] formal authority beyond the community. The low level of
[634] authority of local officials is clearly seen also in the roles of the District Officer and Town Officer, who are

621 elected at the sub-district and the village level, repec-
646 tively, and receive government stipends. Despite their
634 elective positions, they do not act as representatives of
the people vis-a-vis higher levels of government. Instead,
their main function is to serve as a conduit for communi-
cations from the top down. This is described by Spillius:

> The Town Officer is a paid government official . . . and his main function is to act as a communication channel between Government and villagers. He holds meetings in which he tells the people the laws and regulations passed by Government. Any Government official who comes to the village, including the medical and nursing staff, comes first to the Town Officer. . . . Town Officers are supposed to conduct agricultural and sanitary inspections and send reports to the Premier's Office, but they rarely do so, as these are unpopular in the village and are not insisted upon from above. Some Town Officers are keenly interested in health and support the programs of the Medical Department. Others are interested in public works and have mobilized the people to build roads and community houses. But this depends on their individual character and interests, it is not a formally defined part of their job (1960: 10).

621 As we have seen, the village as such is not a signi-
571 ficant unit of organization. However, the low level of
authority of local leaders must not be taken to indicate
that there is no significant decision-making at the local
[612] level. On the contrary, the _fāmili_ and _kautaha_ regulate
[575] their own affairs and are not answerable to any higher
[794] bodies, and the data on congregations presented in Chapter V
clearly indicate that they have considerable autonomy in
regulating strictly local matters. What we find in analyzing the system of political authority in Tonga is that, in

621 general, local authority is concerned with different matters 571 from those that are the concern of supra-local entities and subject to authority at the national level.[8] Indeed, the obverse of local groups' being unrecognized and without authority beyond the local community is that they tend to be autonomous or subject to very little intervention in the conduct of local affairs. Some of the implications of this system of organization are considered in this and in the final chapter.

The centralization of formal authority in Tonga must be understood in relation to the fact that Tongan villages 623 are not self-governing entities. There is no village-wide assembly comparable to what is found in Samoa, for example, where there is a council consisting of leaders from each of

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[8] Spillius points to the significance of this distinction in relation to the planning of development projects, and emphasizes that it is a matter of the structure and organization of political authority:

> There is one set of attitudes that will prove an obstacle to the development of a water-supply system, but only if W.H.O. or Government should insist that the initiative in constructing and maintaining a water-supply system should be taken by the villagers (1960: 16).
>
> [829] [642] I should like to make it quite clear that villagers do not duck every kind of responsibility. It is only those things that they think are the province of the central Government that they are unwilling to perform. . . . In political matters and in public works, it is the central Government that is supposed to take action. In other fields the villagers manage their own affairs (1959b: 2-3).

From the data on Kotulahi, it appears that Spillius's warning regarding the water-supply system was accurate.

623 the kin-groups in the village. This council, known as the
fono, has the authority to regulate village affairs. There
is a village assembly in Tonga, too, also known as the *fono*,
but it is not a decision-making forum. It is merely an
assembly of householders convened from time to time for the
purpose of transmitting to the people directives emanating
from higher authorities--that is, from the noble of the
village and/or the government. Thus, in preparation for
the one-day visit to Tonga of Queen Elizabeth II of England
on March 7, 1970, people in every village in the Kingdom
were assembled and given directives regarding the contri-
623 butions that they were required to make. In Motulahi, the
565 *fono* was convened early in the morning on January 19th--
622 after an announcement the preceding evening--and the noble
of Motulahi informed the people of their *kavenga* (what
they were responsible for, their 'burden'), in accordance
with what had been determined by the national committee in
charge of arrangements for the Visit. It had been decided
that the people of Motulahi were to present five *pola*
(mats of food) for the national feast that was to take
place, and the noble designated the individuals who were
to be in charge of each *pola*. He also informed the people
that they were to erect a large ornamental arch in the
center of the village, over the road that the royal party
would travel in the course of a motor tour of the island.

623 The noble's brief statement was followed by an even shorter
565 speech by the Town Officer, who added some practical
622 details to what the noble had said. In all, eighteen
minutes elapsed from the time that the noble entered the
shed where the _fono_ took place until the time that he
dismissed the people with the words "_Sai, tuku ā_ (all
right, that's all)".

571 As the institution of the _fono_ indicates, the organization
829 of authority in Tonga and the associated ideology
are such that those at high levels of authority are not
thought to be, nor are they in practice, accountable or
[623] subject to the wishes of those beneath them. This means
that formal communication between the central authorities
and ordinary people in the villages need only be a one-way
process--there is no discussion at the _fono_ nor any
legitimate questioning of the directives given.

642 The _fono_ is merely one of a number of formal procedures
571 for communicating from the top down. The Government
[623] gives people directives through District and Town
[646] Officers and through the _fono_, makes announcements over
[634] the radio and in the _Tonga Chronicle_ (the national newspaper,
[207] published weekly in Tongan and English editions),
[204] and gives official notice in the _Government Gazette_.
794 Similarly, the churches publish various bulletins and forward
795 other directives to members through notices to the
571

571 [794] ministers and stewards of the congregations. All these,
[795] however, are one-way channels of communication from the
top down, while the ordinary villager has few means of
communicating upwards. Ordinary men and women serve as
representatives of their congregations at annual meetings
[646] of their church. They also participate in electing the
People's Representatives in the Legislative Assembly.
[642] Besides these measures, there are no formal means of
representation for the vast majority of Tongans.

Processes of National Integration

The description thus far suggests that in Tonga there
is only a very steep hierarchy, with little to bridge the
gap between ordinary villagers and the central authorities.
602 This is not really the case, however, owing primarily to
571 the nature of the Tongan kinship system. Anthropologists
have repeatedly noted that people of the highest rank in
Tonga are related through ties of kinship with people of
all ranks throughout the country, creating a vast communications network through kin ties that reach every village
and every household in the country. As Spillius puts it:

> The web of kinship here is such that every well-informed person, every member of Government, every aristocrat, every well-educated commoner or church minister, has hundreds of relatives, all of whom can and do consult him. . . . Even with the presence of all the formal types of communication by Government, by far the greatest volume of communication takes place through the channels of kinship (1960: 18-19).

602 Similarly, Marcus--in his discussion of kin ties among the
571 Tongan elites (1974, 1975a, 1975b)--treats 'the *famili*' as a
612 dispersed kin set, transcending local boundaries. And even
if kin are not of the same *fāmili*, as *kainga* they see one
another on ceremonial occasions such as feasts and funerals,
and a junior relative will readily call on a senior person
when the latter should happen to be in the neighborhood.
602 Furthermore, it is not unusual for senior people in govern-
571 ment to have their home in a village on Tongatapu and
commute to work in Nuku'alofa, or--if they are from one of
the other islands--to maintain close ties with their "home"
[568 village despite residence away from that village. Similarly, the nobles not only have local deputies but also maintain residences of their own on their estates throughout the islands and visit there from time to time.[9] All these key individuals are associated with different sets of people in their domestic and local activities from those with whom they are associated at the national level, and they act as 'brokers' of communication between the local level and the national level. Their role as brokers was touched on earlier in this chapter in connection with the system of personal representations and private petitioning by villagers in their dealings with the central authorities.

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[9] See Marcus (1976) for a description of how different nobles arrange this.

571 The organization of communication in Tonga can be understood in the following way: viewed from the top, communication is usually formal, systemic, and impersonal; viewed from the bottom, it is informal, reticulated, and personal. Formal communications are vertical, except at the very top, while informal channels of communication are both horizontal and vertical (see Figure 12).

571
182 Consideration of the system of informal communication leads to the conclusion that it is an important means of national integration. Not only does it facilitate two-way communication and consultation between the national level and the local level, but it also provides the means of linking local units with one another. Villages and islands --considered as units in themselves--are not connected with one another except through their connection with the central authorities, but--as we have noted earlier in this chapter --the various local units (households, congregations, _famili_, and _kautaha_) are locally integrated through over-
571 lapping and cross-cutting memberships. These local groups,
182 in turn, are connected by a finely-knit web of communica-
612 tion through _kainga_ relationships, and these relationships transcend village and island boundaries. Thus, in this limited sense, the nation is the kinship system writ large.[10]

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602 [10] Note that it is only with regard to this limited aspect of the system of communication that it can be said

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 246]

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642
794
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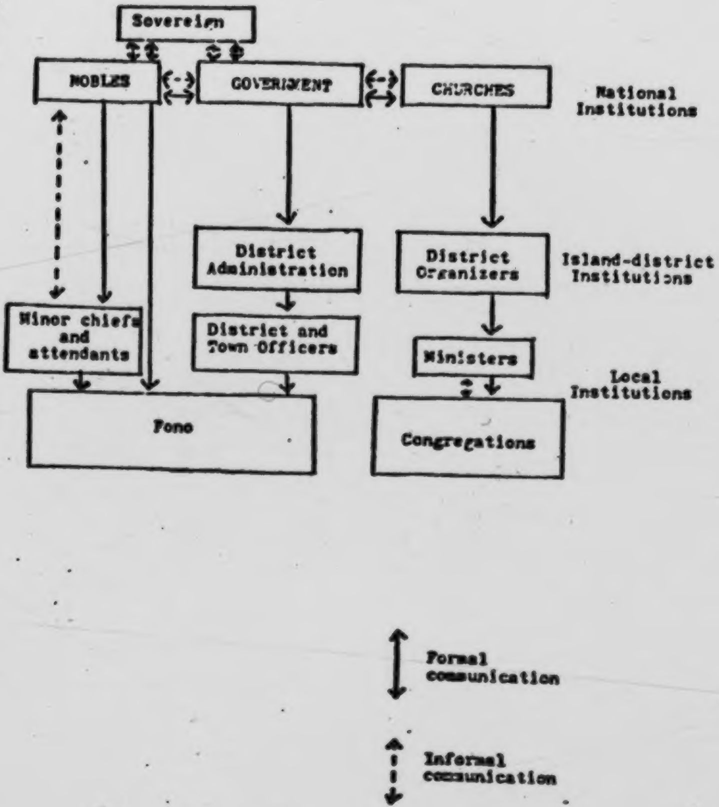
FIGURE 12

The Structure of Communication among Institutional Units in Tongan Society


Sovereign
NOBLES
GOVERNMENT
CHURCHES
National Institutions
District Administration
District Organizers
Island-district Institutions
Minor chiefs and attendants
District and Town Officers
Ministers
Local Institutions
Fono
Congregations
Formal communication
Informal communication

527 While ordinary Tongans are regularly involved on an individual and small-group basis with people from beyond their own village, there are few situations in which they have the opportunity to express their identity as Tongans in common with thousands of other Tongans. From time to time, however, the nation is activated by events known as kātoanga ('public celebration or festivity'). Thousands of people are involved in these events, both in preparations and in direct participation in gigantic feasts, traditional dancing and other public entertainments, and ceremonial and spectacular activities of other kinds.

527 648 One kātoanga took place during the period of my fieldwork, on the occasion of the visit of the Queen of England in March 1970. Although the Royal Visit lasted for only one day, in Motulahi it was preceded by about seven weeks of preparation and upheaval, and similar activities went on throughout Tongatapu. Furthermore, while the kātoanga took place only on Tongatapu, not only [484] the people of that island were involved. Contributions were levied in all parts of Tonga, in the same way that the villagers of Motulahi had been informed what their contributions were to be, and thousands of people made the trip

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[591] [182] [612] [602] that the nation is the kinship system writ large. I would certainly not equate the political system of Tonga with the kinship system.

527 to Tongatapu accompanying their prestations. For many of
648 the visitors, the kātoanga provided the occasion for
484 visiting Tongatapu and re-activating relationships with kin
from different parts of the country. One month after the
Royal Visit there were still some visitors in Motulahi who
told me that they had come "for the kātoanga".

527 Less than two weeks after the Royal Visit, prepara-
648 tions were under way for another kātoanga. This one was to
take place over a four-day period in June 1970, marking the
attainment of fully-independent status for Tonga and
527 cocurrent entry into the British Commonwealth. Although
it is not usual for kātoanga to follow one another as
swiftly as this, these national events generally occur at
least once a year, with the occasion varying from one year
175 to the next.[11] Kātoanga are not merely a modern phenomenon.
527 In pre-modern times there were celebrations associated with
651 the annual 'Inasi ceremony, the Presentation of the First
Fruits to the sacred Tu'i Tonga. The following is an

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[11] In 1969, the occasion was the celebration of the twenty-first birthday of the Crown Prince; in 1968 it was the celebration of the fiftieth birthday ("the jubilee") of His Majesty King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV; in 1967 the occasion was His Majesty's Coronation; and in 1966 it was the celebration of the centenary of secondary education in Tonga. In 1965 there was no kātoanga, as Her Majesty Queen Sālote Tupou III was gravely ill. However, the activities associated with her funeral in December 1965 were the occasion for rituals involving many thousands of people.

175 extract from the diary of an early missionary in Tonga:

> 527 651 The great ceremony of ['Inasi], one of the greatest festivals in Tonga, ceased today. . . . That part of the island where we live is called the [Mu'a], or metropolis of Tonga; and to this place the chiefs of Vavaou and the Hapais bring their ['inasi], towards the end of the last moon the fleet of canoes and crowds of people by land rendering the [Mu'a] a moving scene of universal bustle and stir. The ceremony lasts nine days. Every day has its special transaction (Lawry Diary, October 21, 1822; quoted in Urbanowicz 1972: 83).

Similarly, Captain Cook, who was anchored off Mu'a at the time of the 'Inasi in 1777, reported witnessing a gathering of about 10,000 people.

527 182 In my view, these festivities--both ancient and modern--are a significant means of national integration. Besides their effect of bringing ordinary people together for the renewal of kinship ties and other relationships, they provide an occasion for re-affirming and re-inforcing a sense of national unity and Tongan identity. This is particularly important in view of the fact that the population is widely spread out over many islands, not to mention the fact that national-level institutions, for the most part, are remote from the majority of people.

While the integrative functions of national events such as kātoanga and other ceremonial features of Tongan society are of considerable importance, it should be noted that these events involve a significant drain on government and individual resources, both materially and in terms of time and effort. Detailed consideration of these costs

527 and benefits, however, is beyond the scope of a study of
182 local organization. This and other elements touched on in this chapter--such as the operation of personal networks of communication and assistance throughout Tonga and beyond the Tonga Islands, the relationship between private and institutional connections among persons of high rank within the national-level authorities, assessment of the extent of social mobility beyond the horizontal mobility seen at the local level--are essential elements of a political study that would place the local data presented in this dissertation in national perspective. Such a study remains to be done.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Resolution of the Problem

128 Materials presented in this dissertation deal with
121 the problem of the variability of local organization in Tonga. At this point the diversity and changeability of elements of local organization in Tonga do not give the appearance of formlessness and flux, since the dissertation presents a description that gives order to the data. Such a description may give the illusion that the data are self-explanatory, leaving the reader wondering what it is that needed explanation. However, this is only because the description stems from an analysis that makes the data intelligible.

In the introductory chapter we saw that the problem of the variability of local organization in Tonga can be expressed in a series of questions. Chapters II through VI present an account of local organization in Tonga embodying materials required to answer these questions. Drawing on these materials, answers to the questions can be formulated as follows.

121 1. Given the absence of over-arching organization at the local level, how are the various local groupings in Tongan society articulated with one another?

621 This question is taken up in part in Chapter VI,
575 where we see that the local groupings described in earlier
181 chapters are not formally related to one another, nor is
121 182 there any structural unit co-ordinating their activities,
either at the local level or the national level. Viewed in terms of a collectivity-oriented conception of social structure, local organization in Tonga would seem to lack integration. However, materials presented in the dissertation indicate that the activities of the various local groups are articulated with one another by the highly reticulated cross-cutting relationships of their members; persons engaged with one another in one set of activities are associated with others in different sets of activities and the composition of these groupings is changeable. The organization of these relationships within the framework of households, _fāmili_, congregations, and other groupings found at the local level is described in Chapters IV and V.
121 As argued in analyzing these materials, the data relating to these groupings resist analysis in terms of role-behavior and group-membership. One solution might be available in network analysis, much of the development of which stems from similar methodological difficulties with

121 urban data (Mitchell 1969, Whitten and Wolfe 1973).
However, a network approach is narrowly structural in its
focus on individuals and on the patterning of linkages
formed by their associations as they engage in various
activities. Within that frame of analysis, the organiza-
of the activities themselves is peripheral, leaving
systemic aspects of these activities unexamined. Rather
than use a network approach, in organizing the data from
Motulahi I have tried to show how a person's behavior
within one sphere of activity shapes and is shaped by the
[592] alternatives available in other spheres. Thus we see that
[612] the kind of domestic group that a Tongan villager sets up
[602] or joins is partially a function of his kin-group affilia-
tions, and that this in turn affects the range of alterna-
[621] tives available to him in other activities. It is through
[575] the relation of these activity systems that the various
[794] groups found at the local level are articulated with one
[182] another and with other groupings in Tongan society.

2. What is the explanation for the diversity found in the various forms of social groupings at the local level?

In examining the diversity of social groupings in Tongan society, I have focused on the diversity of options that people have in choosing memberships and affiliations. These data exemplify the variability of Tongan society at the local level. In considering them, we can distinguish

121 between diversity in the sense of multiplicity--i.e, the
number of different groupings of the same kind--and
diversity in the sense of structural differences among
groupings of the same kind. Thus, in speaking of the
diversity of household composition, I am referring to
differences in the structure of household groups, not to
the number of households found in Tongan villages. On
the other hand, "denominational diversity" refers to the
number of different denominations likely to be represented
in each village, not to structural differences among
congregations (although, to be sure, there are such
[181] differences). Both kinds of diversity reflect the "loose
[182] structure" of Tongan society. In Tonga we find, for
[794] [771] example, that what matters in regard to religious
affiliation is that a person should have some denomina-
tional affiliation, which denomination he belongs to is
[554] less important. Similarly, a villager achieves status
through participating in ceremonial activities, but there
is a wide range of alternative channels for mobilizing
material and social resources to enable this participation.
[592] Tongans' households are functionally similar to one another,
[612] but there are no prescriptions regarding structure; fāmili
[575] groupings and kautaha groupings are even less formally
121 181 delimited. This diversity of social groupings is possible
182 571 because a wide range of variation is tolerated in Tonga

121 and there are few prescriptions or directives from above
181/182 regarding memberships and affiliations. People can there-
571 fore make the adaptations that best suit their particular circumstances. Because people's particular circumstances are not the same, their adaptations are different, and thus we find structural differences among groupings of the same kind, such as differences in household composition. Similarly, the multiplicity of groupings (denominational multiplicity and the variety of voluntary associations) results from Tongans' welcoming new possibilities for making adaptations. The specific adaptations a person makes are affected by such factors as access to land, the person's rank, the people with whom he is associated, and the particular stratagems available to him. Thus, the diversity of social groupings at the local level, which at first may appear to be without pattern or explanation, is intelligible when subjected to a close examination of the diversity of circumstances in which people find themselves.

3. What is the explanation for the changeability of villagers' memberships and affiliations?

Changes in memberships and affiliations are adaptations that individuals make to different circumstances. As villagers' circumstances change, they change their adaptations. Thus we see that, as children come of school age, parents seek to move the family to where the better

121 schools are located; at marriage, a woman is likely to
181 switch to her husband's denomination; and when affiliation
182 571 with a different fāmili affords the opportunity of
access to needed resources, there may be a change in fāmili membership. That these changes are possible is further indication of the looseness of structure found at the local level of Tongan society.

4. Why is there variation in the statistical distribution of social groupings from one village to the next?

Variation in the statistical distribution of social groupings from one village to the next is merely a secondary manifestation of the variability of Tongan social organization at the local level. Certain features of a village--such as its location, amount of available land, whether it is a noble's estate and whether the noble is resident--may be significant circumstances affecting the adaptations of those who are associated with the village.
621 However, as we saw in Chapter VI, the village as such is not a significant social unit. My argument has been that the distribution of people's memberships and affiliations reflects the diversity of their adaptations. Thus, the distribution of social groupings from one village to the next is nothing more than a reflection of the particular distribution of the adaptations of its members; variation from one village to the next is epiphenomenal.

'Loose Structure' in Ethnological Perspective

121 I have argued in this dissertation that the diversity
181 and changeability of elements of local organization in
182 571 Tonga is not random but rather is explicable when considered in relation to the diverse and changing circumstances
in which Tongan villagers find themselves and the looseness
128 of prescriptions for behavior in Tongan society. In this
final section of the dissertation I wish to consider the
concept of loose structure in broader perspective, not
limited to the Tonga data.

121 Some critics of the concept of loose structure have rejected it on the grounds that recourse to explanation in terms of loose structure is tantamount to saying that there is no structure to the society or that the structure, such as it is, lacks stability or regularity. Thus, Potter writes that "many influential writers on Thailand have portrayed rural Thai society to the outside world as one strangely devoid of structure or form" (1976: 11). He challenges this "picture of Thailand as a society with a vague, shifting, unstable structure" (p. 7), and argues that the

> cumulative effect [of recent studies of rural Thai communities] shatters once and for all the loose-structure paradigm. . . . A reexamination of [earlier studies] reveals . . . basic structural elements found in all Thai villages to which, because of the loose-structure paradigm, these writers did not give sufficient weight (1976: 148).

121 Similarly, in criticizing the application of the concept of loose structure to the analysis of New Guinean societies, Pouwer argues that "the fundamental mistake . . . lies in the idea that the bilateral principle of kinship cannot produce a permanent, stable structure" (1960: 114), and Kaberry writes:

> Communities of this type in which there is a considerable degree of optation in affiliation are sometimes referred to as 'loosely structured', and, as such, 'unstable'. But in my view the phrase 'loosely structured' is a loose one, and I would agree with Pouwer that it seems to contain a terminological contradiction: 'incoherent coherence' (1967: 108).

These critics seem to assume that the existence of structural elements is incompatible with the notion of loose structure. However, this does not speak to the distinction between 'loose' and 'tight' societies. By definition, there are structural elements in all societies, but there are important differences between societies in the extent to which prescriptions for behavior are specified and/or variability in behavior is tolerated.

In analyzing a society in which a wide range of variation in behavior is tolerated, anthropologists have two alternatives: they can play down this diversity and "get on with the job of describing 'social structure' and 'typical' cultural patterning" (Pelto and Pelto 1975: 1), or they can confront the fact of diversity and examine its significance. In the second case, the data could be viewed

/21 as exhibiting social disorganization or anomie, provided that there are ancilliary data to support this interpretation. However, mere diversity in itself does not warrant the characterization of anomie. In some societies, variability is a "normal" attribute of the social system. This point is cogently made by Evers:

> A discussion in terms of deviant behavior or anomie presupposes, however, a normal state of a clearly defined social structure from which behavior deviates or which temporarily disintegrates into anomie. We are not here concerned with these types of deviations in behavior but with variations in the "normal" structure of social systems and their perception. One social system might allow considerable individual variation of behavior which in another system would be regarded as "deviant" or anomic. . . . The looseness of the social structure and the frequency of deviant behavior are two different variables (1969b: 118).

Not even the most enthusiastic proponent of 'loose structure' has suggested that a society could be said to be loosely structured simpliciter. Instead, there is considerable agreement among proponents of the concept that some elements within a society may be more loosely or tightly structured than others and that, to the extent that societies as a whole are characterized in terms of the loose-tight variable, this would be a matter of characterization along a continuum rather than 'loose' or 'tight' in some absolute sense. However, there has been little comparison along a loose-tight continuum, except for Embree's somewhat impressionistic comparison between Thailand and other Asian countries, and a paper by Pelto (1968)

121 using a Guttman scalogram of structural features--ranging from "permanent recognized political control" through "theocracy"--to construct a continuum along the loose-tight variable. Papers focused on the comparison of pairs of societies are also few and far between. The only ones I know of compare elements of social organization in Thailand and Ceylon (Evers 1968, Ryan and Strauss 1954), and a paper comparing the Kpelle and the Azande (Gibbs 1962).

Undoubtedly, part of the reason for the absence of comparative studies is the problem of cross-cultural specification of the ethnographic features of loose structure. As we shall see below, loosely structured societies are found in widely different geographical and cultural settings, and at first glance the differences between them seem to preclude the possibility of meaningful comparison. As we have seen, many of the anthropologists working with the Thai data have found the loose structure concept useful. This is also true of a number of anthropologists who have worked with the New Guinea data, among them Brown (1962), du Toit (1962), and van der Leeden (1960). In other cases, anthropologists who make no mention of the concept of 'loose structure' have called attention to 'variability' and/or 'flexibility' being normal attributes of certain societies. These terms occur repeatedly in accounts of the Navajo (Aberle 1963, Levy 1962, Reynolds et al. 1967, Shepardson and Hammond 1966), 121 and in a number of Pacific and Australasian societies besides Tonga (Epstein 1964b, Geertz 1959, Goodenough 1956, Howard 1974, Leach 1961, Silverman 1971, Scheffler 1965, Vayda and Cook 1964). African societies that have been described in these terms include the Kpelle of Liberia (Gibbs 1962, 1963), the Kamba of Kenya (Oliver 1965, Fjellman 1976), and the Lakeside Tonga of Malawi (van Velsen 1964).

In some of the accounts of the New Guinean societies there is reference to the flexibility of social organization being an adaptation to geographical and ecological constraints, on the one hand, and the problem of population distribution, on the other. A similar explanation of the organization of descent groups in small island societies in Oceania is proposed by Goodenough (1955). There has also been considerable reference to Buddhist values being the ideological basis of loose structure in Thailand. Obviously, however plausible these explanations, the same one is not being used to account for loose structure in both New Guinea and Thailand. In his paper on the differences between 'tight' and 'loose' societies, Pelto proposes a more general explanation:

> My research suggests that there are at least three elements that may help to account for the differences between tight and loose societies: differences in kinship systems, differences in degree of dependence on food crops, and differences in population density per square mile. . . .

> 121 Kinship systems may be classified broadly as either unilineal or bilateral. . . . Among preliterate societies it appears that unilineal systems predominate in tight ones, and bilateral systems in loose ones. The Hutterite and kibbutz cases suggest that, at least in modern "enclave societies", non-kin principles of organization override or replace those of kinship, as far as relative tightness is concerned.
> High reliance on food crops may be another source of the tight structure. Growing and harvesting crops on a large scale requires teamwork, and rigid organization may be needed to mobilize and direct the people's efforts toward the common goal of an abundant harvest. Although my findings . . . are still tentative, a preliminary examination does suggest that tight and middle-range societies rely heavily on the harvest, while the people of loose societies tend to subsist by other means--for example, by herding or by hunting.
> Clearly, population density is related to tightness in the social structure. In general, it seems that the more people there are in a small area, the more rigid social structure they need to keep them functioning cooperatively, with a minimum of discord and friction (1968: 40).

In the light of data from the societies referred to above which have been characterized as 'variable' and 'flexible', Pelto's explanation does not seem persuasive. The first element, relating to differences in kinship systems, does not account for the differences between 'tight' and 'loose' societies with respect to the list of "concrete structural features of the social order" enumerated by Pelto in constructing his scalogram. The second correlation--reliance on food crops--is flatly contradicted by the fact that many of the societies that could be characterized as loosely structured are highly reliant on food crops. The third correlation--population density--is also not borne out by the evidence. However, Pelto's remarks about

121 the organization needed to harvest crops on a large scale and the rigid social structure needed in some areas to keep people functioning cooperatively are instructive and point in what I believe to be the right direction.

From my reading of the literature, a common element in societies that have been described as loosely structured is the absence of overarching organization at the local level--there are no councils that coordinate the various activities of diverse local groups and no chiefs with wide-ranging authority over the people living under their jurisdiction. In this dissertation we have noted the absence of over-arching organization at the local level of Tongan society. This element, moreover, is typical of political organization in New Guinean societies, and is a notable element of contrast between the African societies described as loosely structured and neighboring more
121 tightly structured societies. It is also instructive to
171 note the contrast between Samoa and Tonga, the major island groups in the Western Polynesia culture area. The two have many social and cultural elements in common, but are significantly different with respect to political organization at the local level--see the contrast in the institution of the *fono*, described in Chapter VI--and also appear to differ on the variable of loose structure. One cannot be sure that Samoan society is not loosely

121 structured, since--except for accounts of the Samoan system 171 of cognatic descent groups (see Ember 1962, Freeman 1964, Tiffany 1975)--it has not been described in terms relating to this variable. However, as Kirsch (1969) and others writing on the concept of loose structure have pointed out, anthropologists tend to remark on the phenomenon of loose structure while its absence is not noted.

121 I suggest that a tentative explanation for the relationship between loose structure and the absence of overarching organization at the local level can be formulated as follows: since there is no overarching organization to monitor compliance with prescribed relationships among the various groups found at the local level, the individual has a notable measure of autonomy vis-a-vis these groups; he can move among them and adjust his relationships to each in the way that he finds most advantageous given his particular circumstances. Besides this, a related point to be considered is that considerable variation in individual behavior is possible where there is no overarching organization to enforce conformity with specific norms or prescriptions for behavior. Thus we find 'individualism' and 'individualistic behavior' being characteristic of societies where there is no overarching organization at the local level. Considerable variation in behavior is condoned, or at least tolerated, because--short of calling on higher

121 external authority--no social sanction can be brought to bear at the local level except public opinion. To be sure, in some matters the sanction of public opinion alone may be sufficient to produce strictly-structured behavior. However, the scope of this sanction tends to be limited. One thinks, for example, of the emphasis on personal and family honor in Meditteranean societies (Peristiany 1966) and the fact that in these societies a wide range of variation in behavior is tolerated as long as honor is upheld. As for control from above, we have noted that in Tonga there is little government intervention in the conduct of local affairs. I suggest that this is related to the absence of overarching organization in that implementation of directives from above is difficult where there is no local council or other coordinating authority to monitor individual compliance. In this regard, it is interesting to note that both Silverman, writing about the Banabans (1971: 207-208), and van Velsen, writing about the Lakeside Tonga (1964: 313), point to the relationship between the flexibility of social organization and the fact that--as in the Tonga Islands--local-level organization is not well-integrated with higher levels of authority.

I have just argued that loose structure is likely in the absence of overarching organization at the local level and have attempted to explain the relationship between

121 them. It might be objected that to speak of the absence of overarching organization is simply another way of speaking of loose structure, in that the absence of overarching organization at the local level is what is being described. That this is not correct, however, can be seen from the fact that the term 'loose structure' does not refer to particular structural features of the social order but to the patterning (or structure) of behavior--that is, to norms being expressed with a wide range of alternative channels of conformity and/or considerable variation in behavior being condoned or tolerated. Examination of the conditions--historical, environmental, or structural--that account for the absence of overarching organization at the local level would also serve to cast light on the phenomenon of loose structure. Such an approach could take us away from mere characterization of behavior and from the problem of cross-cultural specification of the ethnographic features constitutive of loose structure towards a more systematic treatment of differences between 'loose' and 'tight' societies.

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[For further information on Town and District Officers who are elected by the people but serve as representatives of the government and are responsible to the Premier, see Category 646.]

46: Decktor Korn OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For information about regular feasts held by the various religious congregations, see Categories 794 or 574, pp. 181-195.]

46: Decktor Korn OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For further information on other societies that the author considers "loosely structured," similar to Tonga, see Category 121, pp. 256-265.]